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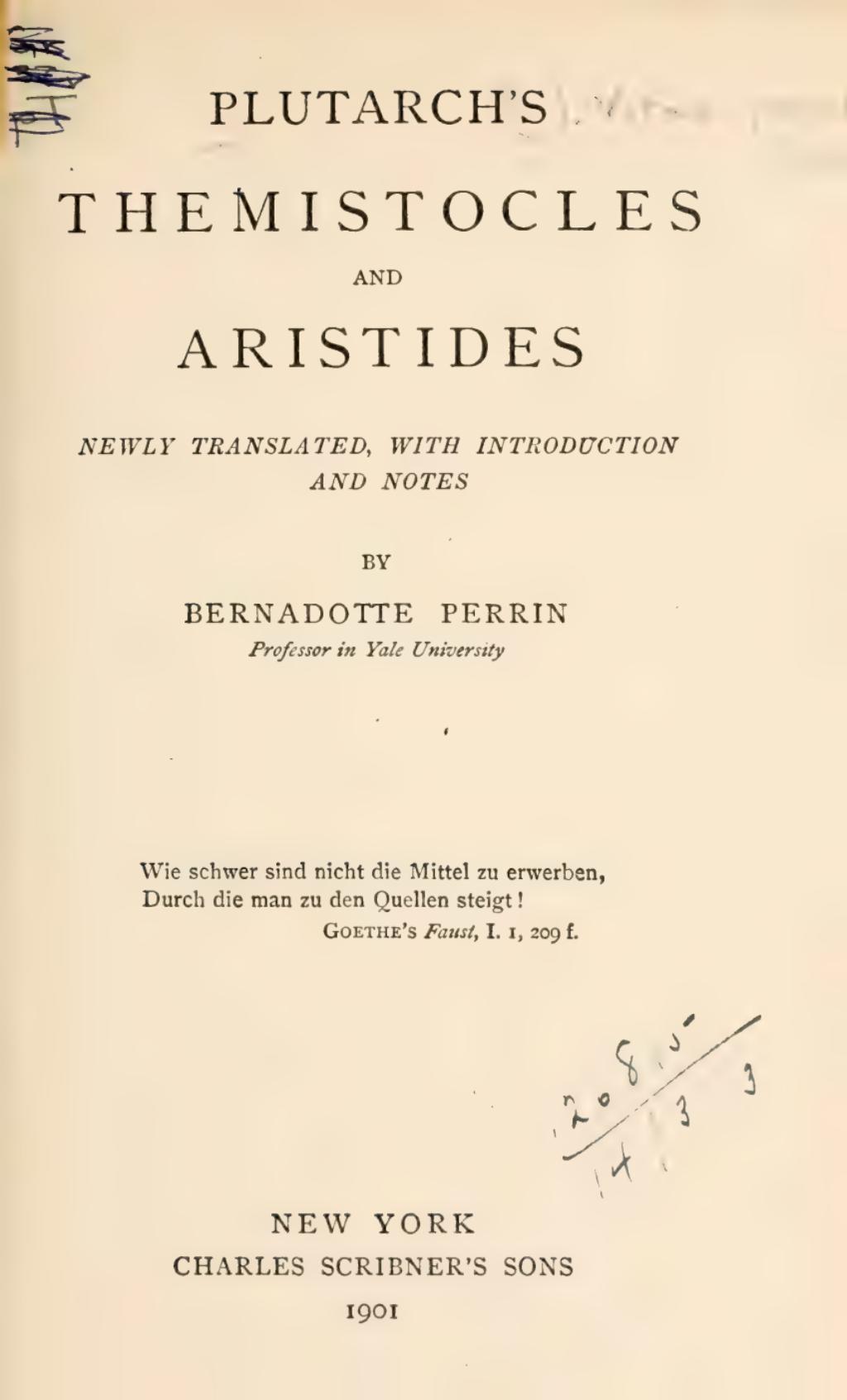
SIX
OF
PLUTARCH'S GREEK LIVES
VOL. I.
THEMISTOCLES AND ARISTIDES





AVN. B. P. SEXTI. P. M.

AN ATHENIAN STRATEGOS
THE SO-CALLED "THEMISTOCLES" OF THE VATICAN



PLUTARCH'S THEMISTOCLES AND ARISTIDES

NEWLY TRANSLATED, WITH INTRODUCTION
AND NOTES

BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN
Professor in Yale University

Wie schwer sind nicht die Mittel zu erwerben,
Durch die man zu den Quellen steigt!

GOETHE'S *Faust*, I. 1, 209 f.

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TO

JOHN HAY

FRIEND OF HELLENISM

Mais entre tous ceulx qui se meslerent onques de rediger par escript les vies des illustres hommes, la palme d'excellence, au jugement des plus clairs voyans, est meritoirement adjugée à Plutarque philosophe Grec, natif de la ville de Chæronée, en la province de la Bœoce, homme noble, consommé en tout rare sçavoir, ainsi comme ses œuvres ne laissent douter à qui les a entierement louës.

JACQUES AMYOT, *in the Preface to his Translation of Plutarch's Works.*

P R E F A C E

IN writing this book, I have had in mind as possible friends to be won by it, first, all lovers of Plutarch, whose name, it is to be hoped, is still legion. Knowing how impossible it is to reproduce in English the illusive qualities which distinguish one Greek style from another, they will commend my work of translation if it brings out clearly the spirit of Plutarch as a writer of *Lives*: the easy and comfortable movements of his thought; his attitude toward men who are struggling with great problems of life and destiny; his amiable weaknesses as a judge of historical evidence; his relish for the personal anecdote and the *mot*; his disregard of the logic and chronology of events; his *naïve* appropriation of the literary product of others; his consummate art in making deeds and words, whether authentic or not, portray a pre-conceived character,—a more or less idealized character. They will welcome my introductions and explanatory notes also, in so far as these enable the English reader to reproduce, even though faintly, the atmosphere of bountiful literary tradition which Plutarch amply breathed before and as he wrote. It should be possible, in some degree, at least, for the student of these notes and introductions to penetrate, as it were, into the very studio of the greatest of ethical portrait-painters, and watch him mix his colors and apply them to the canvas.

I have had in mind, second, all lovers of Greek history, and especially of the story of the Greek Wars of Freedom, wherein Salamis and Platæa must always be the glorious names. Translation and notes together will show how successive generations of Greeks told and retold the stories of

these battles; how new and civil hates obscured the laurels won against foreign foes; how genius was discredited and mediocrity rewarded; and how for six centuries romance and invention went on weaving their unsubstantial robes around the dim figures of the man of genius and the man of mediocrity. It may possibly be that some students of Greek history in our high schools, academies, and colleges have come to love it, as their teachers doubtless all do, and that both students and teachers may welcome the opportunity which this book affords them of getting behind the stereotyped phrases of the ordinary manual of Greek history into that stimulating atmosphere of doubt and uncertainty before conflicting testimonies which nourishes the judgment rather than the memory; where witnesses who desired to tell an attractive story can be confronted with witnesses who desired to tell the same story truly, or perhaps even with the witness of imperishable monuments; where even the earliest oral testimonies show that the story-teller's delight in the form of the story was apt to affect the matter of the story, in ancient as well as in the latest history.

To the professional and learned student of Greek history I should scarcely venture to appeal with this book, unless he might wish to compare with his own opinions on controverted points the opinions which I have reached after weighing the same evidence which he has himself weighed. There is always interest, if not profit, in such comparisons. But to the professional and learned student of other history than Greek, and especially of modern history, I do confidently appeal for enough attention to this book to convince himself, if he is not already convinced, of the substantial identity of the problems and methods of historical research in fields so remote from each other as this from his. It is quite as difficult, probably, in 1901 A.D. for an intelligent historian, without recourse to the official documents of the War Office, to get true accounts of the battles at Gettysburg in 1863 as it was for Herodotus in 440–430 B.C. to get true accounts of the battles at Plataea in 479; and even contemporary accounts of im-

portant engagements in the current war in South Africa, given by leading participants, are sharply conflicting.

I do not forget Niebuhr's quotation from Wilhelm von Humboldt: "Es soll mir Alles recht sein, wenn man Plutarch nur nicht als Geschichtsschreiber betrachtet," and I neither regard Plutarch as an historian nor would I have others do so. We must admire and love Plutarch for what he is, not rely upon him or criticise him for what he is not and did not try to be. But, in the dearth of testimony for obscure events in ancient history, Plutarch will often be brought to the stand as a witness; in that case only those who know him thoroughly as the artist in ethical portrait-painting which he tried to be, can judge of the worth of his witness on an historical question.

On such hotly controverted points as the authenticity of the tract *On the Malignity of Herodotus*, ascribed to Plutarch; the extent and worth of the biographical tract of Stesimbrotus of Thasos; the date of the archonship of Themistocles, and many others like them, I have, of course, simply taken the position to which my studies have led me, without arguing the questions out fully. The authorities cited in the notes are not always, or often, indeed, the final authorities, but such as my English readers will find most accessible and convenient. Great storehouses of classical scholarship have been opened to the English reader in the translations of Herodotus by Rawlinson, of Thucydides by Jowett, and of Pausanias by Frazer. These I quote, and to these I refer often, in the hope of bringing many a reader under the larger spell of their entire works. But, though I may not profitably cite them much in the current notes, it would be unfair not to express my constant obligation to such works as Busolt's *Griechische Geschichte*, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's *Aristoteles und Athen*, Adolf Schmidt's eccentric but useful *Perikleische Zeitalter*, Eduard Meyer's *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*,—particularly the second volume (1899),—Adolf Bauer's *Themistokles* (1881) and *Plutarch's Themistokles* (1884), and Ivo Bruns' *Das litera-*

rische Porträt der Griechen. While my book was passing through the press I had, through the kindness of Professor Gudeman, the tantalizing pleasure of reading Friedrich Leo's *Griechisch-Römische Biographie* (1901), a work of which I would gladly have made more use. I am largely indebted to it for one section of my Introduction (Biography before Plutarch).

It will be seen at once, then, that I have not tried to write a learned book for the learned, but one which may attract an ordinary English reader of culture and taste toward learning, and Greek learning in particular. From such recruits the Greek scholar of the future may come by promotion.

And yet I should like to get the approval of scholars also. My highest reward would be to have truly said of me, as represented by this book, what Ivo Bruns said of Henri Weil and his last edition of the *Medea* of Euripides: "Er belehrt den Anfänger, und regt den Kenner an."

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the courtesy of Frau Heimpel, daughter of the late Professor Rhousopoulos, of Athens, in allowing the Magnesian coin which her father had published to be photographed for my use; of Dr. von Prott, Librarian of the German Institute at Athens, in allowing me the use of the drawing which illustrated the coin of Professor Rhousopoulos, as published in the *Mittheilungen* of the Institute; of Dr. Dörpfeld, Director of the Institute, in furnishing me with a photograph of the Themistocles-*ostrakon*; of my pupil, Mr. Samuel E. Bassett, at present the Soldiers' Memorial Fellow of Yale, at Athens, in assisting me to secure the illustrations mentioned; and of Mons. Babelon, Conservateur du Cabinet des Médailles in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, in supplying me with impressions of the Magnesian didrachm of Themistocles.

B. P.

NEW HAVEN, June, 1901.

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LIST AND EXPLANATION OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

1. AN ATHENIAN *STRATEGOS* *Frontispiece*

A marble herm, the so-called "Themistocles" of the Vatican. It is now generally recognized to be in a style later than the time of Pheidias, as late, perhaps, as the first part of the fourth century B. C. Furtwängler speaks of it (*Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, p. 122, note) as "a copy of a beautiful head by some artist closely akin to Cresilas," who was active at Athens during the age of Pericles. The Corinthian helmet betokens a *Strategos*, or Athenian Commander-in-chief. The point of the vizor has been restored, and the face shows signs of reworking. Friederichs-Wolters, *Bausteine*, No. 482; Helbig, *Guide to the Public Collections of Classical Antiquities in Rome*, I. p. 134. Bernouilli, *Griechische Ikonographie*, I. pp. 95-100.

2. A THEMISTOCLES-*OSTRAKON* 104

Found in January, 1897, during excavations by the German Archaeological Institute, in a trial-trench dug northwest of the Areiopagus, near the modern carriage-road, on the site, probably, of the ancient agora. It is a fragment of a large *crater*, with letters carefully incised. It was used to vote for the ostracism of Themistocles either in 483 B. C., when he was successful against Aristides, or in 472 (?), when he was unsuccessful against Cimon. *Athenische Mittheilungen*, XXII. (1897), pp. 345-8.

3. (a) A DIDRACHM OF THEMISTOCLES 254

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles. A silver didrachm of the Attic standard, the coinage of Themistocles at Magnesia, 464-458 (?) B. C. Obverse: Apollo, standing toward right, chlamys over shoulders and depending at either side, right hand stemmed against thigh, left supported by long branch of olive; inscription, ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΑΕΟΣ. Reverse: incuse, within which raven, or hawk (as bird of augury), in full flight upwards, MA (Magnesia) beneath the wings at either side. Waddington, *Revue Numismatique*, 1856, pp. 47 ff., Plate III. 2; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, III. p. 1762. There is a plated imitation of this coin in the British Museum. Head, *Catalogue of Greek Coins, Ionia*, p. 158.

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British Museum. Obverse (not here given): bust of Athena, with Corinthian helmet. Reverse (two types): (1) Themistocles, wearing cuirass and helmet, striding to right on galley, carrying wreath and trophy; on prow of galley, owl and serpent. (2) Similar features, turned toward left. "In Salamis there is a sanctuary of Artemis and a trophy of the victory which Themistocles, son of Neocles, was instrumental in winning for the Greeks. There is also a sanctuary of Cychreus. It is said that while the Athenians were engaged in the sea-fight with the Medes a serpent appeared among the ships, and God announced to the Athenians that this serpent was the hero, Cychreus" (<i>Pausanias</i> , I. 36, 1). Head, <i>Catalogue of Greek Coins</i> , Attica, p. 108, Plate XIX. 1 and 2; Imhoof-Blumer and Percy Gardner, <i>Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias</i> , Plate EE, xxii., xxi.	
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In the private collection of the late Professor Rhousopoulos, Athens. Very much worn, photographs therefore indistinct; cuts from accurate drawings. Obverse: bust of Antoninus Pius, toward right, wearing wreath of laurel, the ends of which hang down into the neck; mantle (<i>paludamentum</i>) on breast and shoulders; inscription, [] ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΣ. Reverse: nude man of stately presence, with short beard, wearing on the head a wreath or fillet, the ends of which fall into the neck. He stands, toward the left, before a blazing circular altar. In his right hand, which is stretched out over the altar, he holds a saucer (<i>patera</i>), from which he makes a libation (of blood). With his left hand he grasps the hilt of a sword, which hangs in a sheath at his left side. At the foot of the altar lies the slain victim of the sacrifice, with outstretched head and open mouth,—an Asiatic bison (zebu). The inscription encircling the field is ΕΠΙΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥΤΓΡΑΤΟΥΜΗΤΡΜΑΓΝΗΤ, and is found on two other Magnesian coins. The Dioskorides is otherwise unknown. A second inscription, in the left of the field, above and below the outstretched hand, reads ΘΕΜΙΣΘΟΚΛΕΣ. It was held by Rhousopoulos that the monument erected by the Magnesians to Themistocles in the market-place of their city is here copied. It represented Themistocles as Hero of Magnesia, sacrificing. The original monument, judged to have been of bronze, must have been extant in the time of Antoninus Pius. <i>Athenische Mittheilungen</i> , XXI. (1896), pp. 18 ff.	

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The upper map is made after Kiepert; the lower, after the map in *Papers of the American School at Athens*, V. p. 256.

INTRODUCTION

I. PLUTARCH, THE BIOGRAPHER¹

FOR the study of human character no true biography can properly come amiss. But for the study of human history, of the great institutions of society, of the sweep and reach of civilization, and especially for the study of the history of a particular people, the biographical method has its disadvantages and may easily be abused. There is great fascination in the touch of a living personality with one which is past and gone ; a certain excitement in calling back from death and the grave into life and action before the eyes, as it were, the once potent spirits who enriched human life, whether by good or evil courses. The biographical study of history lifts the student into an enjoyment like that of the melancholy Bavarian king, when he sat alone in the opera house and had the musical dramas of Wagner produced before him with all the pomp of royal resource. It is precisely because the biographical method is so fascinating, so exciting, so dramatic, that it must be used with caution, with the constant corrective of the best historical criticism, so that even while the reader yields to the charm of great historical dramas re-enacted for his individual benefit, he may be well aware how ideal or how real the characters moving before him are ; how far they are the genuine products of their own time, and how far they have been clothed upon by the more or less false and perverting interpretations of subsequent times, through the dense medium of which the original, personal spirit shines down to the present day.

¹ R. W. Emerson, *Introduction to Plutarch's Morals*, edited by W. W. Goodwin, Boston, 1870, 1889. R. C. Trench, *Plutarch*, Five Lectures, London, 1873, 1874. George Wyndham, *Introduction to the "Tudor" Edition of North's translation of the Lives*, London, 1895.

The biographical method, then, by its dramatic charm and power, may give unreal and even false ideas of historical processes and evolutions; it may obscure them altogether. The larger personalities who achieve the distinction of biography often strive against tendencies which are sure to be victorious in the end, and sure to bring the richer blessing on the world. And yet the keen sympathy aroused by the special study of their personal endeavors may make the reader oblivious to the narrowness and error of such endeavors. It may keep him from distinguishing between creative and moulding personalities, who shape the history of their time and of all times by initiating and guiding torrents of accumulated human desire; representative personalities, who simply mirror the average desire, or echo the prevalent voices; and obstructive personalities, who stem and thwart for a while the great currents of human desire, but are finally, after changing somewhat the channel of the stream, swept along with the stream or drowned by it.

But the advantages of the biographical method of studying history will always outweigh the disadvantages, if due care is exercised. "There is one mode," says Frederic Harrison (*The Meaning of History*, p. 22), "in which history may be most easily, perhaps most usefully approached. Let him who desires to find profit in it, begin by knowing something of the lives of great men. Not of those most talked about, not of names chosen at hazard; but of the real great ones who can be shown to have left their mark upon distant ages. Know their lives, not merely as interesting studies of character, or as persons seen in a drama, but as they represent and influence their age." And let us know them, one may surely add, not merely as they represent and influence their own age and people, but as they stand related to the history of the race.

Nothing is harder than for a modern to throw himself into the mental attitude of an ancient. Fortunately for us moderns, the great biographer of the ancient Greek and Roman world, while an ancient himself and an "encyclo-

pædia of Greek and Roman antiquity," as Emerson called him, was also a man of the largest possible humanity, and has always appealed with marvellous power to the greatest and best modern minds. From the fifteenth century on, the leading men of the world have been more influenced by Plutarch's *Lives* than by any book of classical antiquity. These biographies have been "the pasture of great souls," the favorite reading of kings and commanders; but also the delight of simple folk, of plain, "self-made" men, of pure women, of aspiring youth. A tone of affection runs through the appreciations of Plutarch made by such different types of men as Emerson, Archbishop Trench, and the Honorable George Wyndham; and many an unknown man could speak of Plutarch's *Lives* as the eccentric Thomas Hollis did: "a work which at school he read avidly at times he might have slept, and to which he afterwards became indebted for the honestest and fairest dispositions of his mind."

When the student disentangles himself from dates and names and minor details, and tries to take into one view the whole sweep of ancient Greek and Roman history, he sees a constant pressure of great streams of humanity conquering from North to South and East, but periodically stayed and even forced back by reflux waves of conquest toward North and West. The eastern world-empire of the Persians is pressed upon too hard by the warlike peoples along its northern boundary, and the Scythian expedition of Darius, and the invasion of Europe by Xerxes, the epic prose tale of which is told us by the Father of History, are reflux waves from the southern sea of accumulated human culture, inundating for a while, but driven slowly back by fresher national vigor under Miltiades, Themistocles, Pausanias, and Cimon. Again the southward-flowing stream gathers head, and, under the Macedonian Alexander, sweeps over the eastern world. Reflux billows from the southern peninsulas check or reverse the Gallic inroads from the North, and then the Roman flood of conquest in its turn sweeps

over Greece and the East. Refluent billows, again, of Roman legions under Cæsar, Agricola, and Trajan, surge over Germany, Gaul, Britain, and Dacia, but the next great southward-heading flood, that of Goths and Visigoths, submerges the Roman Empire.

Plutarch lived after the Roman flood of conquest had swept over his native Greece, and while the Roman Empire was making successful headway against the ever accumulating streams of vigorous barbarism from the North. He lived, that is, at a period of poise in the vast conflicts between the races of the South and North which constitute ancient history, when the culture and wealth which man had won were still able to defend themselves. He lived to do his best work on the threshold of that fairest of ages since the fabled age of gold, the age of the Antonines. The years 50 — 120 A. D. probably cover his life. As a university student of sixteen at Athens, he saw bloody Nero wear the imperial purple; as a young man, the gloomy Domitian; in his middle age, great Trajan; and in his last days he must have welcomed to the succession the brilliant Hadrian.

Of this age, of the better life which still survived in Greece and the Greek world in this Indian summer of its history, Plutarch is the best spokesman. He tells better than any one else of that last renascence of all the good forces in the ancient world which followed a long carnival of "scarlet vices" and swift decay, and preceded, or even paved the way for the gradual and unsuspected assumption of control by the new, lowly, and therefore most comprehensive religion of the Christ. Plutarch shows no sign of acquaintance with Christianity. Longer residence at Rome, and greater familiarity with the many lines of influence diverging from and converging upon that focus of the world, might have brought this gentle, devout pagan, this "anima naturaliter Christiana," into contact with that principle of religious life which absorbed the best of paganism into its vigorous, supplanting growth. He would certainly have brought to the contact a soul readier for reception of the essence of the new world-

religion than did the brilliant Lucian, who followed him by only a few years. Plutarch was one of those lights of the ancient world whose fate in the hereafter was matter of affectionate concern to kindred spirits of a later time who had accepted the Christian dogmas of the Judgment. "It was his severe fate," says the editor of the *Morals* in 1718, in a sentence which Emerson is unwilling to have lost, "to flourish in those days of ignorance which, 'tis a favorable opinion to hope that the Almighty will sometime wink at; that our souls may be with these philosophers together in the same state of bliss."

Plutarch was Greek to the core. He gloried in the past history of his country, and in the heritage of his race, and all the more because of present poverty and degradation. He looked upon the Roman conquest much as Polybius did, as a beneficent necessity. Polybius introduced their conquerors to the Greeks, in the hope that futile resistance to inevitable conquest might cease. Plutarch introduced the Greeks to their conquerors, when conquest had bred forgetfulness and contempt; when the vast upheavals of the civil wars, and the gigantic figures of Sulla and Marius, of Pompey and Cæsar, of Antony and Augustus had dwarfed older protagonists in the drama of history. But though his relations to Athens and Rome were like those of an Alsatian of to-day to Paris and Berlin, there is not the faintest trace of bitterness, in all that he has written, toward the relentless and masterful policy of Rome. Athens was still the intellectual centre of the world, though Rome had become the political centre. To both centres Plutarch was perfectly true.

Familiar as he was with both, he was born, spent the most of his days, and probably died in a small country town of Boeotia called Chæroneia. It overlooked a plain on which many armies had fought, so that, even before Philip's victory there in 338 B.C., Epaminondas called it the "dancing-floor of Ares;" but the town itself was of no prominence. Small and humble as it was, Plutarch loved

it, and even after the years and his philosophical essays had brought him a modest fame, and his plans for literary labor urgently demanded that he make his home in some literary centre, he would not leave it, lest he diminish its small population by one. "If any man," he says, in the introduction to his *Demosthenes*, "undertake to write a history, that has to be collected from materials gathered by observation and the reading of works not easy to be got at in all places, nor written always in his own language, but many of them foreign and dispersed in other lands, for him, undoubtedly, it is in the first place and above all things most necessary to reside in some city of good note, addicted to liberal arts, and populous; where he may have plenty of all sorts of books, and upon enquiry may hear and inform himself of such particulars as, having escaped the pens of writers, are more faithfully preserved in the memories of men, lest his work be deficient in many things, even those which it can least dispense with. But as for me, I live in a little town, where I am willing to continue, lest it should grow less" (Dryden-Clough translation).

The few facts in the unobtrusive career of this Prince of Biographers which can be gleaned from his own voluminous writings are as follows. He was educated, as we should say, at Athens,—an attractive university-town in his day for both Greeks and Romans. He was once a deputy from his native town to the Roman governor of the province of Greece. He travelled extensively over Greece, visited Asia Minor, Egypt, and Italy, and resided some time at Rome. Here he was in charge of public business,—for the eyes of all Greeks were turned on Rome in political matters,—so that he had not time to learn thoroughly the Latin language, as he himself confesses in the introduction to his *Demosthenes*. But he did not need it. Greek was the language of literary and polite society at Rome, and cultivated Greeks, especially philosophers, were welcome there. As philosopher, a popularizer of Platonism, Plutarch read and lectured at Rome, much as he did in the small circle of his intimates and

friends at home. He made and retained acquaintance with prominent Romans of his day, although in this regard his good fortune was not so remarkable as that of Polybius, who was the intimate friend and follower of Scipio the Younger. After Athenian education, generous travel, mild diplomacy, modest literary celebrity, and considerable residence at Rome, Plutarch seems to have retired to his little country town with his books, notes, lectures, essays, and gentle philosophy, and there, in a leisure not greatly encroached upon by local magistracies and certain religious offices at neighboring Delphi, to have elaborated the sketches of his lectures and essays, and composed the work on which his fame chiefly rests,— the *Parallel Lives of Greeks and Romans*.

Before speaking of these, however, a word must be said, and, under the limitations of this brief introduction, hardly more than a word, of that collection of Plutarch's writings which has come down to us under the name of *Morals*. These are miscellaneous essays, chiefly of an ethical range, on a great variety of topics. In comparison with the *Lives*, they are now much neglected, and yet one never reads from them without protesting against the neglect. As composed, for the greater part, before the *Lives*, they are an invaluable prelude to and commentary on them, especially if we would know just what manner of man the author of the *Lives* was. They tell us, as the *Lives* do not, "of the points of view, moral and religious, from which he contemplated not this man's life, or the other's, but the whole life of men. Nor is it too much to affirm that of the two halves of Plutarch's writings, of his *Lives* and his *Morals*, each constitutes a complement of the other; the one setting forth to us, and, so far as this was possible, from ideal points of view, what the ancient world had accomplished in the world of action, and the other what, in like manner, it had aimed at and accomplished in the world of thought" (Trench, *Plutarch*, p. 90). For fuller description of these essays the reader should go to Emerson or Trench. The sphere in which they move, however, can be shown by citing freely from the titles

which they bear. There are some eighty-three in all. It is impossible to classify them accurately. Some are distinctly ethical, some philosophical, some scientific, in our narrower sense of the word, some theological, some social, some æsthetic and literary,—a well-read man's *causeries*, some historical and political. Many are evidently mere collections of material for subsequent elaboration. The range of subject in them fully justifies Emerson's summary: "Whatever is eminent in fact or in fiction, in opinion, in character, in institutions, in science — natural, moral, or metaphysical, or in memorable sayings, drew his attention and came to his pen with more or less fulness of record." There are essays on The Training of Children, Tranquillity of Soul, Brotherly Love, Parental Love, Garrulity, Curiosity, Love of Wealth, Bashfulness, Self-praise, Fortune, Oracles, Delays in the Divine Judgment; How to know a Flatterer from a Friend, How one can be aided by one's Enemies; Reading, Exile, Old Age and Politics; Apothegms and Symposia, antiquarian Questions, political, conjugal, and military Precepts; analyses of mysterious religious cults; a tender letter of consolation to his wife on the death of a child; philosophical treatises against Stoics and Epicureans and in defence of Platonism; literary critiques on Herodotus and Aristophanes; a collection of love stories; a tract on the avoidance of debt; another on the eating of meats; a Discourse to an Unlettered Prince; discussions of questions which might have occupied the attention of old-fashioned debating societies, such as Whether Athens was more distinguished in Letters or in War, Whether Water or Fire be most useful, Whether 't were rightly said: "Live concealed." The gamut of the *Morals* is astonishing in its range.

But it is with the *Lives* that we are now chiefly concerned, and even in these, as will be seen, Plutarch is far more moralist than historian. The Greece of which he was so loyal a son, after passing under Roman sway, lost sight gradually of her great men of action, and contented herself with the glories of her men of thought. Here surely the dominant

Romans could not vie with her. With Roman law, Roman armies, Roman statesmanship and oratory in the ascendancy, it was of Numa, Cæsar, Cato, and Cicero that men most readily thought in Plutarch's time. In order to prove that the more remote past of Greece could show its lawgivers, commanders, statesmen, patriots and orators as well as the nearer and therefore more impressive past of Rome, the *Parallel Lives* were written. With Scipio Africanus the Elder, the greatest man of Rome, Plutarch matched Epaminondas, the greatest man of Greece. This pair, or "book" of lives is unfortunately lost. With Camillus, who saved Rome from the Gauls, he matched Themistocles, who saved Athens from the Persians. Then followed, as nearly as the order can be determined,¹ — for the order of the *Lives* in our collection is not the original one, — the *Cimon and Lucullus*, the *Lycurgus and Numa*, the *Demosthenes and Cicero*, the *Pelopidas and Marcellus*, the *Lysander and Sulla*, the *Aratus* and the lost Scipio Africanus the Younger, the *Philopæmen and Flamininus*, the *Pericles and Fabius Maximus*, the *Aristides and Cato Major*, and thirteen other pairs. Eighteen of the twenty-two pairs which have come down to us close with a formal comparison of the two careers and characters, often fanciful and forced, seldom of any special value. There are also three single *Lives* in our collection, *Artaxerxes*, *Galba*, and *Otho*, and we get traces of twelve more that are now lost. One of the pairs is a double one, where, to match the two Gracchi, Plutarch selects the two reforming Spartan kings Agis and Cleomenes.

How impartially Plutarch holds the scales between Greek and Roman, may be seen from the fact that it is still a disputed question whether his object in writing the *Parallel Lives* was to convince reluctant Greeks that there were Romans who could well bear comparison with the greatest Greeks, or to remind the too complacent Romans that, though the world was now in their strong hands, subject

¹ See Adolf Schmidt, *Das Perikleische Zeitalter*, II. 108 ff. ; Wachsmuth, *Alte Geschichte*, pp. 215 f.

Greece could show on her roll of honor men with whom the greatest Romans might be proud to be compared. The latter view is probably the correct one. With all his friendliness to Rome and acquiescence in the great mission which she was performing, Plutarch remained still a Hellenic patriot. Archbishop Trench puts the case none too strongly when he says: "Plutarch remains ever a Greek, a Theban still more than a Greek, and a Chæroneian still more than a Theban" (*Plutarch*, p. 85).

Plutarch was a voluminous writer, an extensive reader, and a good talker,—a conversationalist of the highest rank. His sources were monumental,—the eloquent material structures of the many places which he visited; literary,—the Greek poets, philosophers, orators, biographers, and historians, with whom he was amazingly familiar; and oral,—the polite gossip of the literary circle, the secrets of familiar intercourse, the oral transmissions of family history not yet recorded for public use. He quotes from some two hundred and fifty Greek authors, eighty of whom are known to us only by name, and many more only by the citations from them which he makes. The extract from the introduction to his *Demosthenes* made above (p. 6) shows clearly that in his retirement at Chæroneia he lacked library facilities, and was forced to depend on his memory or his note-books for much of the material which he dispenses with so generous a hand. We must expect therefore to find in him, what the investigation of his sources for each particular *Life* will show in greater or less degree, a tendency to cite at second hand. This practice can be proved in his use of so great an authority as Aristotle, and must not unduly surprise us in his use of Herodotus and Thucydides. Literary property, literary methods, and literary ethics were all in a rudimentary stage of development in Plutarch's time. But when compared with some of his contemporaries or successors, he is conspicuous for his fidelity and trustworthiness in dealing with his sources. It is true, as Emerson says (*Introduction*, p. xiii), that "in his immense quotation and allusion, we quickly cease to dis-

erminate between what he quotes and what he invents." And Plutarch does unquestionably invent, even when he would appear to be recounting history. Moreover, it must be frankly admitted that he has little if any scientific method as a historian. He will be found preferring an anecdotal history, crammed with the inventions and accretions of centuries of transmission from an original source, to the original source itself, even though that be easily accessible. This for detail; on vital points he will also be found true to the best sources at his command. And he is more particular than almost any other ancient writer to let his reader know what authority he is following. By careful study the later tradition which he uses can be separated from the earlier, at least in a majority of cases, and his reader thus put in a position to correct undue bias, and eliminate error. How exacting Plutarch can be of others in the matter of giving authority for startling statements, may be seen in his *Aristides*, xxvi. 2. For the story that Aristides died somewhere in Ionia, and under sentence for bribery, Craterus, a Macedonian compiler of legal decrees, who wrote in the third century B. C., is responsible. "But Craterus furnishes no documentary proof of this,—no judgment of the court, no decree of indictment,—although he is wont to record such things with all due fulness, and to adduce his authorities." And yet Plutarch is at a long remove from dogmatism. On disputed points he cites his evidence fully, and takes his stand, as in the opening chapter of his *Aristides*, but he has no menace for the reader who cannot stand with him.

To sum up briefly, then, on this all-important point, Plutarch's sources are manifold, though not always cited directly; they are frequently to be made out, in one way or another, so that the late and secondary can be separated from the original and primary sources; and they are not imposed dogmatically on the reader. What is still more worthy of note, Plutarch's use of his sources often contributes our only knowledge, or increases our scanty knowledge of them. "He is a direct authority, in his Biographies, for nothing,

but the only substitute we can get for a crowd of lost writers of the highest authority" (Freeman, *Methods of Historical Study*, p. 222).

The aims and methods of Plutarch in writing biography may best be learned from his own statements, and from analysis of his *Lives*. "It was for the sake of others," he says in the introduction to his *Timoleon*, "that I first commenced writing biographies; but I find myself proceeding and attaching myself to it for my own; the virtues of these great men serving me as a sort of looking-glass, in which I may see how to adjust and adorn my own life. Indeed, it can be compared to nothing but daily living and associating together; we receive, as it were, in our enquiry, and entertain each successive guest, view 'their stature and their qualities,' and select from their actions all that is noblest and worthiest to know." In the introduction to his *Alexander* he says: "It must be borne in mind that my design is not to write histories but lives. And the most glorious exploits do not always furnish us with the clearest discoveries of virtue or vice in men; sometimes a matter of less moment, an expression or a jest, inform us better of their characters and inclinations than the famous sieges, the greatest armaments, or the bloodiest battles whatsoever. Therefore as portrait-painters are more exact in the lines and features of the face, in which the character is seen, than in the other parts of the body, so I must be allowed to give my more particular attention to the marks and indications of the souls of men, and, while I endeavor by these to portray their lives, may be free to leave more weighty matters and great battles to be treated of by others." When he begins his *Nicias* and finds his chief authority to be the matchless story of Thucydides, he entreats his reader "in all courtesy not to think that I contend with Thucydides in matters so pathetically, vividly, and eloquently, beyond all imitation, and even beyond himself, expressed by him. Such actions in Nicias' life as Thucydides and Philistus have related, since they cannot be passed by, illustrating as they do most especially his char-

acter and temper under his many and great troubles, that I may not seem altogether negligent, I shall briefly run over. And such things as are not commonly known, and lie scattered here and there in other men's writings, or are found among the old monuments and archives, I shall endeavor to bring together, not collecting mere useless pieces of learning, but adducing what may make his disposition and habit of mind understood."

That Plutarch was kind though not blind to the failings of his heroes, may be seen from the charming confession in the opening of his *Cimon* (c. ii.). "As we would wish that a painter who is to draw a beautiful face, in which there is yet some imperfection, should neither wholly leave out, nor yet too pointedly express what is defective, because this would deform it, and that would spoil the resemblance; so, since it is so hard, and perhaps impossible, to show the life of a man wholly free from blemish, in all that is excellent we must follow truth exactly, and give it fully; and lapses or faults that occur, through human passions or political necessities, we may regard rather as the shortcomings of some particular virtue than as the natural effects of vice; and may be content without introducing them, curiously and officiously, into our narrative, if it be but out of tenderness to the weakness of nature, which has never succeeded in producing any human character so perfect in virtue as to be free from all admixture and open to no criticism."

Plutarch's *Lives*, then, are not historical, but ethical, and to a large extent ideally ethical portraits, like the Platonic Socrates. Their author culls from the mass of tradition at his disposition those items which serve him as effective colors for his portraits. For consecutive, consistent narrative of events; for chronology, political evolutions, diplomatic combinations, social problems; for the processes of history, in a word, Plutarch has no eye. But for the moral products of history he is carefully on the watch. His *Lives* therefore illustrate his *Morals*. They are to some extent ethical romances, like Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*. If used as historical

authority, therefore, it is necessary to sift their fact from their fancy, so far as it is now possible to do it. But the sifting process must not be allowed to mar the work of art.

It is no surprise to find that the personal anecdote plays a great part in Plutarch's biographies. Indeed, herein lies, in great measure, their undying charm. But the personal anecdote, even in our own times, is the most suspicious part of historical tradition. Anecdotes are so readily invented, or transferred from one personality to another with the necessary adaptations, or from one purpose in illustration to another, that more than the usual amount of good evidence is demanded to establish their authenticity. Around a great personality, like that of Abraham Lincoln, for instance, personal anecdotes multiply without limit, until it is impossible to separate the true from the fictitious. An eminent personality attracts the anecdote. And as eminence usually comes late in life, the invented personal anecdote deals largely with details of the earlier life, before eminence had brought fuller record of the career, and therewith greater possibility of confuting inventions. The humble acquaintances of the early and obscure days are stimulated by the flattering attentions of eminence-worshippers to tell all, and often more than they know about those early days when future eminence went in and out among them unsuspected. Forgotten or fancied incidents must at all hazards be made early prophecy, late discerned, of future greatness.

More doubt still attaches to the personal anecdote about such far-away personalities as Themistocles and Aristides, not simply because they are so much farther away from their biographers than men of later times, but because historical interest in the individual as distinguished from the state did not begin until Thucydides, toward the close of the century, and Xenophon, in the following century, and did not flourish until after the state was merged in great personalities, or swayed and dominated by them. History at last became biography in Suetonius' *Lives of the Cæsars*. The personal anecdote about Themistocles, Aristides, Cimon, Pericles,

Nicias, Alcibiades, not only reached Plutarch through centuries of literary tradition; it was likely, almost always, to have started late on its career, to have been warped from its original form, or invented outright. The lack of personal details for the history of these great personalities was eagerly supplied by the invention, more or less plausible, of later writers. As political activities were denied the Greeks after the Macedonian and Roman conquests, their active minds turned to the fields of speculation, rhetoric, and romance. Old histories like those of Herodotus and Thucydides were rewritten in conformity with later rhetorical tastes. Embellishments of every sort were invented outright, not with intent to deceive, but because embellishment was demanded at any cost. Next to the set speech,—a standard literary embellishment in Homer, Herodotus, and Thucydides,—the personal anecdote was most cultivated, by historians, rhetoricians, and philosophers.

It is a natural impulse to cast aside this element of the personal anecdote, unless its tradition from a contemporary source can be clearly established, as worthless historical material. Material of the highest grade it certainly is not; but it is by no means worthless. The better the story, the more it must conform to the prevailing conception of the character upon whom it is fixed. "If this was really done by Alexander," says the conscientious and critical Arrian (*Anabasis*, ii. 12, 8), "then I commend him for it; and if it merely seems credible to his biographers that he might have done and said these things, then on this basis too I commend Alexander." "People who invent a story," says Freeman (*Methods of Historical Study*, p. 129), "will commonly invent a story that is likely, or at least one which they think is likely, not one which is manifestly unlikely." The personal anecdotes in Plutarch may therefore serve to show what eminent writers of a later day thought was likely in the case of such distant personalities as Themistocles and Aristides. The stories are like garments,—good or bad, likely or unlikely, according as they fit the forms for which they

were intended. What those forms were, in the eyes of the story-makers, can be determined, in no small measure, by the stories. It need not therefore be fatal to the usefulness, much less to the enjoyment of Plutarch's stories, if his reader know that they are invented. It is now matter of history that Lincoln, after great travail of spirit, as leader of a people struggling in the agony of a civil war, gave the official death-blow to human slavery in the United States. A ready hearing is therefore given to one John Hanks, a companion of Lincoln's early and humble days, when he says that on one of their flat-boat trips to New Orleans, Lincoln was so disgusted by the scenes at a slave auction in that city that he said to Hanks with an oath: "If ever I get a chance to hit slavery, I'll hit it hard." This is a good story, because it is, on the face of it, a likely story. But it is not a true story. It can be proved that Lincoln was never in New Orleans with Hanks. The story was clearly invented after Lincoln had "hit slavery hard." It contains a "vaticinium post eventum."

On the other hand, it is not to be denied that authentic personal anecdote may have escaped or been ignored by primary authorities like Herodotus and Thucydides, and made its way essentially unchanged down to so late a writer as Plutarch. An invading Lacedæmonian army under the command of the youthful Spartan king Pleistoanax, in 445 B. c., apparently had Attica and Pericles at its mercy, but retired mysteriously without effecting anything, and left Pericles' hands free to subject Eubœa. In the discreet words of Thucydides (i. 114), "they advanced as far as Eleusis and Thria, but no farther, and after ravaging the country, returned home." In Sparta, King Pleistoanax "was thought to have been bribed." So much Thucydides is willing to say (ii. 21; v. 16), and it looks like an apocryphal story which Plutarch tells in his *Pericles* (c. xxiii.): "When Pericles, in giving up his accounts of this expedition, stated a disbursement of ten talents, as 'laid out for sundry needs,' the people, without any question, nor troubling themselves

to investigate the mystery, freely allowed of it." If true, the story gives us the very phraseology of a great fiscal joke. It seems too good to be true. But it gets striking corroboration in the joke which Aristophanes introduces into his *Clouds* (v. 859), a comedy brought out only a few years after the death of Pericles. A cynical, spendthrift son asks his dishevelled, half crazy father what has become of his slippers, and the answer is :

"As Pericles once, I 'laid them out for sundry needs.' "

About 423 b.c., therefore, the story told by Plutarch must have been current at Athens.

Even in his Greek *Lives* Plutarch relies much on oral tradition, and when it starts with contemporaries of the men whose biographies he is writing, the testimony is most valuable. In his Roman *Lives*, from the nature of the case, he depends yet more on such testimony. In his *Antony*, a contemporary tradition can be clearly traced down to Plutarch himself, and then from Plutarch to Shakespeare. Plutarch's grandfather, Lamprias, was the intimate friend of a certain physician, named Philotas. This Philotas, when a young fellow, studied medicine in Alexandria, while Antony was there, under the full witchery of Cleopatra. The young medical student was intimately acquainted both with Antony's son, and with one of Antony's cooks, and dined often at Antony's table. There could be no better authority for the luxury of that table. "I have heard my grandfather report," says Plutarch in his *Antony* (xxviii. 2, 3, North's version), "that one Philotas, a physician, born in the city of Amphissa, told him that he was at that time in Alexandria, and studied physic; and that having acquaintance with one of Antony's cooks, he took him with him to Antonius' house to show him the wonderful sumptuous charge and preparation of one only supper. When he was in the kitchen, and saw a world of diversities of meats, and amongst others eight wild boars roasted whole, he began to wonder at it, and said: 'Sure you have a great number of

guests to supper.' The cook fell a-laughing, and answered him: 'No, not many guests, not above twelve in all.'

This bit of kitchen gossip the young medical student, Philotas, tells his friend Lamprias, on returning to Greece; Lamprias tells it to his grandson Plutarch, who records it in his *Antony*; Plutarch's *Life* is translated into Latin in the fifteenth century, this Latin version into the French of Amyot in the sixteenth century, the French of Amyot into the English of Sir Thomas North, and at last the magician Shakespeare, in his *Antony and Cleopatra*, seizes upon the kitchen detail and puts it into the mouth of Mæcenas, the friend of Octavius: "You stayed well by 't in Egypt," says Mæcenas to Enobarbus (ii. 2); "Aye, sir, we did sleep day out of countenance, and made the night light with drinking."

(Mæcenas) "Eight wild boars roasted whole at a breakfast, and but twelve persons there; is this true?"

(Enobarbus) "This was but as a fly by an eagle; we had much more monstrous matter of feast, which worthily deserved noting."

After such consideration of the sources of Plutarch in writing his *Lives*, of his aims and methods, and of the nature of the personal anecdote which forms so large a part of his work, the question may be asked, What is the value of Plutarch as an historian?

As the best exponent, in his *Morals*, of the better side of the rich classical culture which was then approaching or enjoying its Indian summer, he is invaluable and indispensable to the historian of that time, but as a direct historian of his own or any times, and particularly of times long before his own, he is valuable as a recorder and transmitter of the history of history, rather than of history itself. We may find from him what men in successive generations have thought and said of Themistocles and Aristides, but not so well what Themistocles and Aristides really were and did and said. To do this,—to get at the real Themistocles and Aristides behind the ideal ethical portraits of them which Plutarch paints,—it is necessary to follow the stream of his-

torical tradition back to its earliest sources, to determine if possible the nature and peculiarities of those sources, and to reconstruct the later estimates of the men from the testimony of those nearest to them and best qualified to judge them. In this long, laborious, but fascinating process, Plutarch himself will be the best guide, from the very fulness of the material which he has heaped together. His memory teemed with illustrative incidents, and he does not hesitate to digress pleasantly at the slightest suggestion, or even without any apparent suggestion. Speaking of Aspasia, in his *Pericles* (xxiv. 7), he is reminded of Milto, the concubine of the younger Cyrus, who was re-named Aspasia. "She was a Phœcean by birth, the daughter of one Hermotimus, and when Cyrus fell in battle, was carried to the King, and had great influence at court. These things coming into my memory as I am writing this story, it would be unnatural for me to omit them."

It is clear that even when he is basing his work on standard and easily accessible authorities, like Herodotus, Thucydides, or Plato, he sometimes relies upon his memory instead of fresh reading. His formal citations also are often seen to be from memory. It is free-hand drawing in which he delights. No one who comes from reading the *Morals* can believe in the fixed and arbitrary methods of citation and borrowing which are fastened on Plutarch by much recent criticism of the *Lives*. The intermediate biographical source so often postulated for the changes in the form of earlier tradition which appear in Plutarch,—a source sometimes known hardly more than by name, sometimes wholly imaginary,—has been credited with much of Plutarch's own genial improvement of the generous material stored in his mind from various reading. Such chapters in the *Themistocles* as vii. and xi. read like a free combination and blend by Plutarch himself of material from several authors, and not like an excerpt from any single source in which he finds the combining and blending ready to his copying hand. It is true that his method of composition is

different in the Roman and Greek *Lives*; that even in the Greek *Lives* it changes from group to group, and from book to book; and that in the *Aristides*, between which and the *Themistocles* eight Greek *Lives* were probably composed, he is by no means so generously eclectic as in the *Themistocles*. But even in the *Aristides*, where the original sources furnished him scant personal material, it can never be granted that he forsook the original sources entirely,—writers like Herodotus and Thucydides,—and copied exclusively a blend of those writers made by Idomeneus, a writer who is little more than a name to us. Such a chapter in the *Aristides* as xviii. is a composite of Herodotus, Thucydides, Ephorus, and possibly Idomeneus, but the composition is that of Plutarch, and contains much that is original with him. Plutarch's methods are by no means those of Diodorus Siculus. These positions, and others kindred to them, will be constantly illustrated and defended in the current notes.

It is in this fulness of material, served up to us with the prodigality of a wealthy and experienced host, that Plutarch differs most strikingly from the only other biographer of antiquity whom we need now compare with him,—Cornelius Nepos. Nepos was a Roman, writing brief compends of pragmatic rather than ethical biography for Romans of the first century before Christ. Like Suetonius, his desire is to transmit the material, rather than to make that material attractive in its form. He throws no speaking picture on his canvas; is brief, dry, annalistic, sparing and arbitrary in the citation of his authorities, and shows nothing like the literary zest which characterizes Plutarch. He is a Latin compiler, from Greek sources rather poorly controlled. At times, however, he will be found to supply items of tradition which would have been lost but for him.

Attractive as are the personality and the teachings of Plutarch, voluminous and varied as are his writings, fascinating and provocative of analysis as are his manner and his methods of composition, his Greek style in itself is not specially attractive. For this reason, as well as because

any popular Greek author must be more widely read in translation than in the original, but above all because the early translations of Plutarch into English, like the translations of the Scriptures, are important literary monuments of the English language,— for all these reasons Plutarch has been mostly read by English-speaking people in English translations. Both *Morals* and *Lives* were very fortunate in their first introduction to readers of English. The translation of the *Morals* by Doctor Philemon Holland, published in London in 1603, and again in 1657, is an English classic, and was of great use to Professor Goodwin in his revision of the translation “by Several Hands,” published in London in successive editions from 1684 to 1718. So the translation of the *Lives* by Sir Thomas North, which appeared as early as 1579, served as a mine of resource and suggestion to Clough in his revision of the so-called “Dryden” translation, as it has served and always will serve every and any translator of the *Lives*. It is true that North did not render from the original Greek, but from Amyot’s French version, and that he reproduced Amyot’s errors, and made errors of his own. But Amyot’s version was of the highest order. It is the earliest French classic recognized by the French Academy. And North’s English translation of this French classic is a monument of the English language second only in importance to the Authorized Version of the Bible. It is a translation by the earliest master of great English prose from the earliest master of great French prose. Of it George Wyndham says, at the close of his Introduction to the Tudor edition: “Of good English prose there is much, but of the world’s greatest books in great English prose there are not many. Here is one, worthy to stand with Malory’s *Morte Darthur* on either side of the English Bible.”

This version by Sir Thomas North was current for nearly a century. It was the Elizabethan Plutarch. But the changed literary tastes of the age of Queen Anne demanded a new version of Plutarch as of Homer. Pope supplied the new version of Homer’s *Iliad*, supplanting Chapman, and lent his

great name to a version of the *Odyssey* in his style by other hands. Dryden was "prevailed upon by his necessities" to head a company of translators of Plutarch's *Lives*. He himself supplied merely the Preface and Life of Plutarch, but the version was called by his name. Strange to say, in spite of great inferiority in many ways to the version of North, it held its own, aided by two revisions of more or less thoroughness, and even superseded North's.

Both the North and the "Dryden" translations were made, either wholly or in part, at second hand, and before the Greek text of Plutarch had been well edited. The first scholar's translation of the *Lives* from the original Greek into English was published in 1770 by the brothers John and William Langhorne, and this was the English version most current, perhaps, from that time down to 1850. The aim of the translators was rather to be faithful to the original Greek than to write representative and idiomatic English. Compared with North's spirited version, the Langhorne version is dull and pedantic, though more accurate. The notes, however, are wholly antiquated.

But the inheritance of natural, representative English even in so inaccurate a translation as the so-called "Dryden," was too precious to be lost, and in Boston's noteworthy attempt to furnish the English-speaking world with a satisfactory translation of the entire body of Plutarch's writings, the revised seventeenth-century version of the *Morals* "by Many Hands," was given to Professor Goodwin for further revision, and the revised seventeenth-century version of the *Lives*,— the "Dryden" translation,— to Arthur Clough, that winning representative of Oxford's best culture in the days of the great Tractarian controversy. He began the work during the year of his residence in this country, 1852, and completed it after his return to England. It was more or less perfunctory work for him,— a "pot-boiler,"— but still his letters show that he gradually became interested in the work for its own sake. His revision of the "Dryden" translation was published in five volumes, by Little, Brown,

and Co., in 1859, and afterwards in one large volume by the same firm in 1876 and 1880. It is no insignificant sign of the earnestness of the young literary life of America in the days of the so-called "transcendentalists," that a Boston house should successfully carry out so large an undertaking as a complete edition in ten octavo volumes of Plutarch's *Lives* and *Morals*,—an edition which still remains the best. For the Dryden-Clough version of the *Lives* is undoubtedly the best extant English version for all purposes. There is a version more recently published, that of Stewart and Long, in the Bohn's Classical Library, of four volumes. This incorporated the scholarly translation of thirteen Roman *Lives* published by Professor Long in 1844, the notes to which are of great value even now. But the translation of the Greek *Lives* is distinctly inferior to that of the Dryden-Clough edition. And it is still true, as Professor Goodwin said in his review of the first volume of the Stewart and Long translation (New York *Nation*, vol. xxxi. pp. 395 ff.), that we need a translation of the *Lives* "which, without sacrificing the sprightly flavor of the old translations, shall yet answer the demands of modern scholarship more fully than these in accuracy of thought and expression." But Clough's revision of the "Dryden" translation comes nearer to doing this than any other.

The old version of Sir Thomas North, aside from its many intrinsic excellencies, will always have one charm which no other translation can have. It was the version which Shakespeare used. Shakespeare certainly found Plutarch's ethical portraits full of the best dramatic suggestion and material. His *Coriolanus*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *Antony and Cleopatra* are largely based on incidents in Plutarch's *Lives* of these and other Romans, and the very phraseology of the great dramatist shows the influence of the language of North's translations. Mr. Skeat published in 1875 "Shakespeare's Plutarch," a selection from the *Lives* in North's Plutarch which illustrate Shakespeare's plays. His text of the *Lives* is based on what he believed to be the very copy of North which

Shakespeare once owned, and which contains marginal notes in what may well have been Shakespeare's handwriting.

Shakespeare took from North's Plutarch not merely isolated details, like the detail of kitchen gossip cited above (p. 18), but whole pictures, like that voluptuous picture,—perhaps Plutarch's best,—of Cleopatra coming up the Cydnus to meet Antony. Here the dramatist is content merely to put North's prose into metrical form. And this is surprisingly different from his treatment of other sources, as Archbishop Trench has well pointed out (*Plutarch*, pp. 65 f.). From others he takes a hint, an outline, a suggestion, a name or two, a situation, an incident. But Plutarch he dramatizes. "What a testimony we have to the artistic sense and skill which with all his occasional childlike simplicity the old biographer possesses, in the fact that the mightiest and completest artist of all times should be content to resign himself into his hands, and simply to follow where the other leads."

Of the popularity and influence of the *Parallel Lives*, little more need be said. For the last three centuries the current ideas about ancient history among English-speaking folk have been drawn from them, and there have been all this while, and still are, as Professor Goodwin says, "countless friends of classical learning whose only bond of union with Greece and Rome has been their English Plutarch." For such, Plutarch needs only to be translated. But it will heighten the general enjoyment of such a genial guide if those who have studied his methods and materials more closely will add to their translations of this or that *Life* some suggestions of the boundless wealth of literary tradition, out of the confusion of which so shining a precipitate at last emerged. And in these days when many who are called to study the humanities are not chosen, or do not choose to do so, the friends of the old humanitarian culture must put well to the front of their line "the legate, the ambassador, and the orator in behalf of those institutions whereby the old-time men were rendered wise and virtuous."

II. THEMISTOCLES, AND THE TRADITION OF HIS HISTORY IN PLUTARCH'S *LIFE*.

(a) OUTLINE SKETCH OF THE PERSIAN WARS.

In the early years of the fifth century B.C., the great eastern empire of the Persians made three unsuccessful attempts to crush the European Hellenes, whom we now call the Greeks. The struggle lasted twenty years, and abounded in contrasts and surprises. The attack was made by a perfectly centralized oriental despotism of the great river-valley type,—such as had flourished for ages independently along the Nile,—upon scattered mountain peoples whose bonds of union were religious and sentimental merely. The conflict was partly between large masses of undisciplined and light-armed infantry, aided by superb cavalry, and small bodies of heavily-armed and well-trained footmen; partly between great numbers of war-ships propelled by fighting oarsmen, and much smaller numbers of similar, but lighter and nimbler ships. Land and sea forces acted in conjunction along a rugged and strongly indented coast. On the side of the East were boundless resources in men, money and equipment,—the accumulated resources of a world-empire under beneficent sway. The sole limitation here was in the ability to manage resources. On the side of the West were inaccessibility, hardy mountaineer vigor, and the ardor of souls contending for the most sacred objects in life.

The alleged cause of the three invasions was the interference of Athens and Eretria in the struggle between the Ionian Greeks of the west coast of Asia Minor and the imperial government of Darius. But this was only one of many causes,—an occasion rather than a cause. Since the floods of human life kept encroaching from North and West upon South and East, the collision between Europe and Asia was inevitable. It was in this larger sense that the Persian

invasions were retaliatory. The surprising result of the collision was that the world-empire which stood guard over the accumulated treasures of South and East, not only failed to push its defensive barriers farther to the North and West, but actually lost ground, and left its gates open to the inundating floods of the next century.

The first of the three unsuccessful attempts to punish and subdue European Hellas was made by Mardonius, a son-in-law of the Persian king Darius, toward the close of the first decade of the fifth century B.C., in 492. It was a magnificent combined movement by land and sea, in the grand manner of Darius himself when he invaded Scythia some twenty years earlier. Fleet and army moved around the northern shore of the *Æ*gean sea, mutually supporting each other. But a disastrous storm off Mount Athos, and the hardy mountain tribes of southern Macedonia, thwarted the attempt.

Learning wisdom from this failure, the Great King sent a second expedition in 490, this time straight across the *Æ*gean, lessening distance, economizing time, and eliminating the complications of the more spectacular combined movement by land and sea, but restricting the number of the forces which could operate on land to the possibilities of transportation by sea. Even thus restricted, however, the numbers of the invaders far surpassed any which Athens and Eretria, the ostensible objects of attack, could put into the field. Eretria was taken and utterly destroyed. Then, under the guidance of Hippias, the expelled tyrant of Athens, whose family had strong adherents still, both in the city of Athens and especially in the district of Marathon, to the northwest of the city, a landing of troops was made in that plain. Here some ten thousand Athenians and Platæans, under the brilliant generalship of Miltiades, defeated the invaders, drove them upon their ships, confronted them boldly after they sailed round and threatened Athens from the South, and so at last forced them to go home with the more important half of their errand unaccomplished. No

victory for freedom has produced such a huge sum total of inspiration among men.

In the third attempt, the Great King returned to the more spectacular but less manageable combined movement by land and sea. "All Asia thundered for three years," as Herodotus says (vii. 1), with his vast preparations, and so the Greeks liked to believe. The punishment of Athens was doubtless merged in a scheme for establishing a strong European frontier-line for the Persian Empire, since the intervening sea invited rather than stayed aggression. But a revolt of Egypt in 486, and the death of Darius in 485, delayed the European expedition. Xerxes received it as part of his heritage, and, after quelling the Egyptian revolt, passed, in the spring and summer of 481, with vast displays of power on land and sea, beyond the point where the first expedition under Mardonius, in 492, had been checked. His multitudes, whom certainly no man now can number, whatever may have been the contemporary possibilities, were engineered past the great barriers of nature, and frightened into submission or neutrality all the larger Greek states except Athens and Sparta. These, with their faithful allies, were crushed back from their heroic stand on land and sea at Thermopylæ and Artemisium, and Athens was captured and utterly destroyed. But the Persian expedition was stopped from farther and final success by the sea-fight in the straits of Salamis, just ten years after Marathon. "Ten years later," says Thucydides (i. 18), "the Barbarian returned with the vast armament which was to enslave Hellas." The victory at Salamis saved Hellas, as that at Marathon had saved Athens. The crippled Persian fleet withdrew for the season with the disappointed king, and Mardonius was left with large forces of picked infantry to quarter himself for the winter in that part of Hellas already won, and to resume the offensive by land in the spring. But Sparta, Athens, and their allies, under the consummate generalship of Pausanias, crushed Mardonius in the spring of 479, at Platæa; then the fleet of the Hellenic allies cleared the Ægean sea of

Persian galleys, and Hellas was free to expand into imperial dimensions.

With the first of these great Hellenic victories, that of the Athenian and Platæan heavy-armed infantry at Marathon, the name of Miltiades will always be associated above all other names; with the second, that of the allied fleet at Salamis, the name of Themistocles; with the third, that of the allied infantry at Platæa, the name of Pausanias. The first died at Athens under the disgrace of a public condemnation; the third was officially killed at Sparta for the treason in which he had been detected; the second, Themistocles, died at Magnesia, in Asia Minor, in the service of the Persian king, and under condemnation at Athens for treason. He alone of the three was innocent of the charges brought against him by his countrymen.

The general outline of the larger events of the Persian invasions, as briefly given above, is assumed by Plutarch to be known to his readers, as well as some prominent details. He selects for his life of Themistocles such additional details from the great story as will specially illustrate the character of that hero. He adds masses of biographical detail, mostly in the shape of personal anecdote, much of which has no certain connection with the great events of the time, much of which bears plainly the marks of later manufacture to suit a certain established type of character. His *Life* falls naturally into four main divisions: first, the family, education, and early political life of Themistocles, down to the ostracism of his rival Aristides,—chapters i.—v.; second, Themistocles' participation in the war from the ostracism of Aristides through the battle of Salamis and the events immediately following and dependent upon it,—chapters vi.—xviii.; third, the career of Themistocles from his triumph to his ostracism, some seven years later,—chapters xix.—xxii.; and fourth, his exile for treason, his Persian career, his death and burial,—chapters xxiii.—xxxii. A brief analysis of these four divisions, with more or less tentative effort to determine the sources from which Plutarch draws his ma-

terial, will show how much less demand upon our belief the first and last divisions are entitled to make than the second and third, and how in all four a large apocryphal element has found a place. This brief analysis will be supplemented by the current notes, in which generous citations from the possible or probable sources of Plutarch will be made, that the reader may judge for himself of the manner and method and spirit of Plutarch's work.

(b) THE SOURCES OF PLUTARCH IN HIS *THEMISTOCLES*.

But before making this brief preliminary analysis of each division of the *Life*, it will be necessary to determine the sources of information which were actually open to Plutarch, if he took pains to secure them, and to characterize them briefly; not only those whom he cites by name as his authority, but also those whom he leaves unnamed, in spite of indebtedness to them, and those to whom he probably refers in sundry vague plural terms.

Plutarch cites by name in the *Themistocles* no less than twenty-eight authors. Of these, four were poets contemporary with the Persian Wars and with Themistocles: Simonides, Æschylus, Pindar, and Timocreon of Rhodes. These four furnish what, with all its paucity, is still the most important evidence, both for Themistocles' achievements, and for the national sentiment toward him while those achievements were fresh in men's minds. Other contemporary poets may have furnished evidence too, but what these four furnished has come down to us, in part at least.

Simonides of Ceos lived from 556 to 468 b. c., and was an admired and successful lyric poet at Athens for many years, before, during, and after the Persian Wars. He might be called the Hellenic Poet Laureate of the Persian Wars. His verses adorned the memories of those who fell at Marathon, Thermopylæ, Artemisium, Salamis, and Platæa, and heralded the praises of the victors, as he had earlier sung the praises of victors in the great games. Eualcidas, an Eretrian captain, slain by the Persians at Ephesus, was a man of note,

“who had gained crowns at the games, and received much praise from Simonides of Ceos” (*Herodotus*, v. 102). Simonides was a national, not a local poet, filled with the nobler inspirations of a successful national struggle against foreign aggression, and he passed away before the bitter sectional quarrels were rife which culminated in the Peloponnesian War. He has naught but glowing praise for Salamis and Themistocles.

Æschylus, the great dramatic poet (525–456 B. C.), in his *Persians*, an historical drama brought out in 472, does full justice to Themistocles as the real author of the victory at Salamis, under the blessing of the gods, although the play was undoubtedly meant to bring into higher appreciation the services of Aristides at Salamis and Platæa. There may be exaltation of Aristides, but there is no depreciation of Themistocles by Æschylus.

Pindar too (522–442 B. C.), the greatest lyric rival of Simonides, and like him also a national rather than a sectional poet, in a brilliant ode (*Pyth.*, i. 75 ff.) recognizes Athens as most entitled to the glory of Salamis, as Sparta was to that of Platæa. He is not chary of other praise for Athens, as the citation in chapter viii. of the *Themistocles* shows. But Athens at Salamis was synonymous with Themistocles.

The three great poets contemporary with the Persian Wars, then, unite in extolling Salamis and Themistocles. We get no breath of malevolence from them. But fame invites detraction. Both Simonides and Themistocles had an ardent hater in the athlete, political refugee, and poet Timocreon of Rhodes. The most we know of his poetry is due to Plutarch’s citations from him in chapter xxi. of the *Themistocles*. What Simonides thought of him may be seen from the satiric epitaph which he composed for him: “Here lies Timocreon of Rhodes, who ate much, drank much, and much abused his fellow men” (Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, iii.⁴ p. 505). What Themistocles thought of him is plain from the fact that after the Hellenic cause had triumphed, he

refused to intercede with the Rhodians for the recall of Timocreon from banishment, though he had been his friend. Timocreon had "medised," as Herodotus would say,— had favored the Persian cause when things looked darkest for Hellenic freedom,— and his people had therefore cast him out. Stung by the refusal of Themistocles to intercede in his behalf, he venomously accused the great hero of venality in the matter,— of having been "bought;" and when the political fortunes of Themistocles were overwhelmed by the invincible coalition of Cimon, Aristides, and Sparta against him, Timocreon exultantly turned upon him the charge of "medising." Nothing could better illustrate the credulity of malice than the fact that the next generation of Athenians, the Athenians particularly of the Periclean following, from 450 to 430 b. c., actually believed, or pretended to believe that Themistocles had "medised" in the first flush of his victory at Salamis (see the note on *Themistocles*, xvi. 1). With Timocreon first appear the charges of venality and treachery which became firmly fixed in the Themistocles tradition from the fact that Herodotus afterwards incorporated them in his immortal story.

Three important sources of Plutarch were contemporary with Cimon and Pericles, so far as their literary testimony goes, and represent the generation following Themistocles and the Persian wars, although the actual years of their lives may correspond with those of Themistocles to some extent. These are Ion of Chios, Stesimbrotus of Thasos, and Herodotus.

Ion of Chios was a brilliant and popular poet at Athens between 452 and 421 b. c., personally acquainted if not intimate with *Æschylus*, Sophocles, Cimon, and Pericles. Besides his lyric and tragic poetry, he composed a prose work entitled *Sojourns*, in which he recounted his personal experiences at Athens and elsewhere, particularly with famous men of the day. Through this delightful witness several choice bits of authentic contemporary testimony have come down to us. Plutarch evidently made liberal use of him,

directly or indirectly, in his *Pericles* and *Cimon*. From him, doubtless, comes the glimpse which Plutarch gives (in his *De Profectibus in Virtute*, 8 = *Morals*, p. 79 E) of Æschylus and Ion sitting together at the Isthmian games, watching a contest of boxers. Observing that whenever one of the boxers was hit, the audience shouted, Æschylus nudged Ion, saying: "See what training will do! The man who is hit, holds his peace; the spectators yell." When the scholiast on the *Persians* of Æschylus, at v. 429, notes that "Ion, in his *Sojourns*, says that Æschylus was present at the battle of Salamis," it is the best testimony possible to that fact. Through Ion we get authentic testimony to the very looks and words of Cimon and Pericles. In spite of his aristocratic sympathies, which made Cimon especially the object of his admiration, it is to be noted that the only testimony concerning Themistocles which reaches us from him indicates merely that hero's lack of what passed in those days for higher education. We may be sure that such was the estimate of Themistocles current in the fashionable and aristocratic circles in which Ion moved.

But the invincible political coalition against Themistocles not only ostracized him about 472 b. c., it also secured his condemnation for treason about 471, his permanent exile on pain of death, and the confiscation of his property. The fact that he found asylum at the court of Persia, that common refuge for expatriated Greeks, brought the malevolent charges of venality and "medism" which Timocreon seems to have been first to set going, into general acceptance. A democracy which was led by aristocrats like Cimon and Pericles belittled the services and impugned the motives of their former comparatively plebeian leader. Selfish cunning, rather than the self-sacrificing statesmanship which really characterized his course, came to be the popular trait in the tradition of his career. All manner of current malevolent stories about Themistocles were collected in a political pamphlet by Stesimbrotus of Thasos, a sophist and rhapsodist who achieved some note at Athens

during the times of Cimon and Pericles. The pamphlet was probably written about the time of the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war (431 b. c.), and served up a mass of scandalous gossip about Themistocles, the founder of the Athenian navy, and Pericles, the founder of the Athenian empire, both of whom were objects of intense hatred to the oligarchical party, in the interests of which Stesimbrotus evidently compiled his work. Cimon and Thucydides, son of Melesias, were also treated in a similar way, though the fragments of the work which have reached us make it probable that these, as rivals or opponents of Pericles, were handled with less malice. The work was not a history of the times, or a biography of the men with whom it dealt, but a defamatory tract full of spicy slander. Its historical worth lies chiefly in the glimpse which it gives into the depths of partisan rancor at the time. Plutarch draws much material from it, but is usually averse to accepting its evidence. He used it more in the *Cimon* and *Pericles* than in the *Themistocles*. It is probably the work which brings from him the bitter complaint (*Pericles*, xiii.): "So very difficult a matter is it to trace and find out the truth of anything by history, when, on the one hand, those who afterwards write it find long periods of time intercepting their view, and, on the other, the contemporary records of any actions and lives, partly through envy and ill-will, partly through favor and flattery, pervert and distort truth."

In this atmosphere Herodotus evidently composed those parts of his great history where Themistocles appears, as the current notes will fully show. He composed them in Athens probably, and for Athenians. He reproduces the beliefs and feelings of the time and place in which he is writing, and herein consists his peculiar worth as an historian. He has given high artistic form to the reigning beliefs of the Periclean party at Athens concerning the Persian Wars, one generation of men after the wars were fought and the greatest hero of those wars had died. Meanwhile the oral tradition of those wars,— and the literary tradition of

them by Charon of Lampsacus and Hellanicus of Mitylene was annalistic and meagre, — had suffered the changes to which all oral tradition is naturally liable, and, besides, was directly acted upon by an entirely new set of hates and jealousies, arising from the growth of the Athenian empire. These tended to distort and pervert the stories of services to the national Hellenic cause formerly rendered by states now in hostile relations to Athens. The old and the new traditions subsisted side by side, and Herodotus often takes pains to give them both, and sometimes to correct the flagrant wrongs of partisan tradition. For Argos and Corinth and *Ægina* he insists on correcting the malevolence of Athenian tradition ; but for Boeotia and Thebes he does no such service ; and with all his candor and fidelity he could not avoid tingeing his account of the services and exploits of Themistocles with the prevailingly hostile beliefs of those among whom and for whom he wrote. He was largely dependent on oral tradition, and that which came to his ears, and which we may suppose him to have fairly reproduced, was malevolently hostile to Themistocles. It had not only distorted the really pardonable diplomatic deceptions of Themistocles, but had invented others which were unpardonable. The shrewdness and cunning which Themistocles had exercised for his country's good, malevolence made him to have exercised for his own good ; and a connection with Persia which no dreamer could possibly have imagined in the days of the glory of Salamis, he was now made not only to have foreseen, but to have carefully planned.

But after the death of Cimon in 449 B. C., and the passing of the glorious policy for which he so long contended of peace and friendship with Sparta, but aggressive war on Persia, a slow change in the popular feeling toward Themistocles can be traced, which culminates in a complete revulsion. The new era favored peace with Persia, and even alliance, but war with Sparta. It was this arch-enemy of the new Periclean era which had brought unsubstantiated charges of treachery against Themistocles, and joined his political foes at Athens in hunting him from the country. And

the Athenian navy, on which she placed her main reliance in this new era, especially after her defeat at Coroneia (447), and the Thirty Years' Peace (445), was the creation of Themistocles. No malice had even tried to belittle or besmirch that eminent service. Besides, if, in making head against the hated domestic rival, Athens came into touch with Greek cities of Asia Minor, she found that among some of them, at least, the memory of Themistocles was honored for beneficent services which bespoke an abiding love of his native country (see the notes on *Themistocles*, xxxi. 4). Pericles and the powerful family of the Alcmaeonidae were only too willing to have the malicious estimates of Themistocles' life and death prevail, and Herodotus was only too willing to be their spokesman; but events worked in favor of a rehabilitation of the career of Themistocles. And when the dominating personality of Pericles was removed (429), and the war with Sparta intensified yet more Athenian hatred of her, and when the successes won against her were seen to be due in the main to the undisputed services of the maligned Themistocles, the change in popular sentiment toward his memory became pronounced. The Old Athenian Comedy of the decade 430-420, so far as we can now control its references to him, was friendly, even grateful, and the fiction of his treason slowly died out of popular belief.

Writing toward the close of the century, Thucydides boldly controverted many estimates of his more popular predecessor, Herodotus, and none more emphatically than his treatment of Themistocles. Against the misjudgment of Themistocles by the leading minds and the masses of the Periclean age at Athens, and against the perpetuation of this misjudgment in the historical romance of Herodotus, Thucydides, in one of his main and formal digressions, which is our earliest specimen of formal biography in Greek, utters an earnest, dignified protest. And it is greatly to Plutarch's credit, even though he was probably prejudiced against Herodotus from the start, that he puts himself in line with

this protest of Thucydides. It was not alone his humanity and natural kindness of spirit, but his critical preference of Thucydides as a historical authority superior to Herodotus, that led him to give Herodotean details of the events of the Persian Wars with which Themistocles was associated, but in the Thucydidean spirit. The malicious element in the Herodotean material is carefully eliminated, under the influence of the grand protest of Thucydides. Themistocles was not guilty of treason, according to Plutarch, even though he did fly for refuge to the king of Persia. This is the main point, and in the main point Plutarch sides with Thucydides against Herodotus. We can pardon him then, if, when he comes to treat of Themistocles' life in Persia, about which only a few salient facts were known, he leaves the safe reticence of Thucydides, and admits into his story the ornamental, but purely fictitious material with which later writers supplied him.

The three allusions to Themistocles in Aristophanes (*Knights*, 183 f., 812–819, 884) are even affectionate in their tone, and the last two dwell on his benefactions to Athens; the second actually implies that his exile showed ingratitude on the part of the city. At the Lenaean festival of 424 b.c., therefore, an Athenian audience evidently felt tender toward Themistocles. Perhaps this growing tenderness toward him on account of the wrongs done him at Spartan instigation called forth the magnificent eulogium which Thucydides bestowed upon him.

At any rate, in the early part of the next century his memory is entirely cleared of the stain of treachery. In Plato's *Gorgias*, Themistocles is ranked with Miltiades, Cimon, and Pericles. All were good men of virtue, if virtue consist in the satisfaction of our own and other people's desires; and all alike were bad statesmen because they suffered themselves to be "thrown from their chariot," *i.e.* ostracized. In Themistocles' case the Athenians added exile to ostracism; but there is not the slightest hint of its justice. And in a still more striking passage of the *Meno* (pp. 93, 99),

Themistocles is called a good man and a good statesman,—a wise and good man, although unable to teach his virtue to his own son, exactly as Aristides, Pericles and Thucydides, son of Melesias, were. Such language could not have been used unless all belief in the treason of Themistocles had vanished from popular belief. Xenophon is like Plato in this regard.

In the orators of the closing fifth and of the fourth century, especially Antiphon, Andocides, Isocrates, Æschines and Demosthenes, whatever opinions may be held about the expediency and advantage of converting Athens into a maritime power,—and orators as well as philosophers sometimes questioned these,—there is complete unanimity in this, that to Themistocles is always ascribed, in strains which become rather conventional, the glory of Athens' navy, and of the Piræus; and that there is no hint of his actual treason, though there are many allusions to his country's ingratitude toward him. But the orators used the history of the fifth century merely as a source for telling illustrations or contrasts. They did not recount it at length, and were inaccurate in details. There is little indication in them of any lines of historical tradition which are independent of Herodotus and Thucydides. All the more worthy of notice, then, is their elimination from Herodotus of his hostile treatment of Themistocles.

The historical material of Herodotus and Thucydides was worked over into a form which appealed to the rhetorical tastes of the fourth century by Ephorus, a native of the Æolian city of Cyme. Ephorus was a pupil of the great orator Isocrates, and carried into the narration of historical events the principles of formal rhetoric. The form was of more importance than the substance, and freely shaped the substance to its needs. He wrote a universal history of Greeks and Barbarians from the return of the Heracleidæ, or the "Dorian Invasion," down to the year 340 b. c., at which point death interrupted his task. His work became a Vulgate of history, enjoying an immense popularity. It has come down to us only in excerpts and fragments, and is principally known to us through the generous use made of

it by the compiler Diodorus Siculus, who prepared a compend of universal history down to Cæsar's Gallic wars, writing under Augustus. In the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth books of this compend of Diodorus, we have the periods of the Persian and Peloponnesian wars treated, in the main after Ephorus, and so, ultimately, after Herodotus and Thucydides, though not without important variations on the part both of Ephorus and Diodorus. It is plain that Diodorus excerpts Ephorus in large sections. But it is also probable that he condenses at times, and certain that he adds some matter of his own composition, especially for purposes of juncture. In general, however, we are reasonably confident that he reproduces Ephorus. Though a diligent student and collector of material, Ephorus is not so trustworthy a guide as Herodotus even, much less Thucydides, since he yields far more than they do to the temptations of his rhetoric. His style is artificial in the extreme, diffuse and weak, and yet to his style he clearly sacrifices fidelity to fact and authority. He was an extravagant admirer of Athens and Themistocles, going as far beyond the truth in his praise of them as their enemies did in their detraction.

Very different from him in method and purpose, though like him in his formal rhetorical style, and his love of writing for the sake of writing rather than for the sake of truth, was his fellow-pupil under Isocrates, Theopompus of Chios. This stern aristocrat devoted, like Thucydides, the years of his exile, and his wealth, to securing the most accurate knowledge possible of the periods which he chronicled, namely: the years 411 to 339 B.C., in continuation of the history of Thucydides; and the career of Philip of Macedon, from 360 to 336 B.C. The loss of these works, which were storehouses of erudition, is one of the severest that Greek literature has sustained. The tenth book of the second work, the *Philippica*, was devoted, by way of excursion, to the Attic statesmen of the Persian Wars and later. Here Plutarch evidently found much biographical material

for his *Themistocles*, and apparently a spirit of hostility to this hero, as was natural in a writer of Theopompus' political sympathies. Fragments of his works show also a tendency to correct the vainglorious spirit of Athenian traditions. As a man of the national party he has bitter things to say of Demosthenes, as well as of Themistocles. In both Theopompus and Ephorus we may assume that some authentic material appeared,—either from the early annalists Charon and Hellanicus, or from private family traditions,—which is not to be found in Herodotus or Thucydides on the same periods; but by far the largest part of such supplementary matter is suspicious, to say the least. It is more likely to be a rhetorical invention than genuine tradition.

Plutarch is much indebted to a group of antiquarian writers who composed the *Attides*, or chronological histories of the customs, institutions, and monuments of Athens. The oldest of these, if Hellanicus be not included in the group, whose *Attis* was of a more general character, was Clidemus, or Clitodemus. The few fragments of his work which have reached us include an item of the year 377 B.C., and make it probable that he flourished during the closing years of the fifth, and in the first half of the fourth century. Plutarch uses him, either directly or indirectly, in his *Theseus*, *Themistocles*, and *Aristides*.

Phanodemus is another writer of the same class, about whom even less is known. Plutarch cites him once in his *Themistocles*, and twice in his *Cimon*.

Androtion is another, said by Suidas to have been a pupil of Isocrates. He is one of the authorities from whom Aristotle drew material for his *Constitution of Athens*, and is cited once by Plutarch in his *Solon*. He was active in the year 346 B.C.

These were all predecessors of the most important writer of the class, Philochorus, who was slain at Athens by Antigonus Gonatas in 261 B.C. He was a professional seer, and an official interpreter of oracles and portents in 306 B.C. His chief

work, an *Atthis*, carried the chronicles of Athens down to the year of his death, and the fragments of it testify to the great learning and wisdom of the author. Plutarch cites him by name frequently in his *Theseus*, once in his *Nicias*, and probably uses him freely at other times without mentioning his name, as in chapters x. and xi. of the *Themistocles*, where he takes Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* as he found it cited in Philochorus, whose enormous literary activity came in the generation following Aristotle, and who cites Aristotle freely, as well as previous *Atthides*. It may well be, therefore, that Plutarch uses the earlier *Atthis*-writers mainly as he finds them cited in Philochorus.

Craterus the Macedonian, half-brother of King Antigonus Gonatas, was a diligent and careful compiler of original historical documents bearing on the history of Athens, such as the popular decrees and other published inscriptions. He apparently wrote a history of the Athenian people based on these invaluable documents. Plutarch speaks of his collections, to which he must have had access, in his *Cimon*, xiii., and *Aristides*, xxvi. Spurious documents may have crept into the collections of Craterus, but in general his work must have been of the greatest value, and late lexicographers and scholiasts cite him with respect and confidence, often in the same class with the *Atthis*-writers.

Diodorus the Topographer, or Periegete, was a contemporary of Theophrastus, toward the close of the fourth century B. C., who wrote works on the monuments and antiquities of Attica. Plutarch cites him in his *Themistocles*, xxxii., *Theseus*, xxxvi., and *Cimon*, xvi.

The Peripatetic school of philosophers, headed by Aristotle, in the historical and biographical work which they incidentally cultivated, seem to have culled from all sorts of late sources striking anecdotes of great historical personages like Themistocles, without much critical acumen. Their main work was in other fields. And yet, in distinction from the Alexandrian school of biography, which contented itself with complete collection of extant material, the Peripatetic

school, especially the later, sought to throw the charm of literary art around its collected materials.

In the *Constitution of Athens* by Aristotle, recently so marvellously restored to us, and fully cited in the current notes of this volume, the sources drawn upon are distinctly anti-democratic, and represent the sentiments of the oligarchical faction toward the close of the Peloponnesian war.

Theophrastus, the most famous pupil, and the successor of Aristotle (*ob.* 287 B.C.), is cited twice in chapter xxv. of the *Themistocles* for biographical details, which, like those in Aristotle and Theopompus, betray the bias of the oligarchical partisan. His book "On Lives" was a mine of citation for Plutarch in his *Lycurgus*, *Lysander*, *Pericles*, and other *Lives*. But his principal works, like those of his master, were in the field of natural history.

The writer of this school to whom Plutarch is most indebted, especially for piquant stories and tales of dreams and wonders, is Phanias of Eresos, a fellow-citizen and friend of Theophrastus, as well as a disciple of Aristotle, and his most distinguished disciple, after Theophrastus. He too was a prolific writer on logic, physics, literature, and history as well. Plutarch compliments his erudition in chapter xiii. of the *Themistocles*, and borrows gladly and freely from his sensational store, even when he clearly distrusts the truth of what he takes. Among the historical works attributed to Phanias were a chronological history of Greece, arranged by annual officers of Eresos; a history of Sicilian tyrants; and a work on the assassination of tyrants. What the work was which Plutarch uses so freely in the *Themistocles*, is not known. All the Peripatetics seem to have been collectors rather than sifters of historical material, and Phanias was apparently a historical romancer, in a daring and fascinating vein.

Ariston of Ceos, cited both in the *Themistocles* and *Aristides* for a story of youthful rivalry in love, is said to have become head of the Peripatetic school about 230 B.C. His works are all lost, and the loss is small. Among his contemporaries, and in Cicero's eyes, he lacked dignity and

weight. He cultivated seriously what Aristotle and Theophrastus and even Phanias did by way of literary recreation. He wrote light character-sketches, after the manner of those which have come down to us from Theophrastus, and a collection of such love-stories as that which Plutarch cites from him.

Here also may be classed the Heracleides cited by Plutarch in chapter xxvii. 1, as having Themistocles come to Xerxes rather than to Artaxerxes. Heracleides Ponticus is probably meant, a pupil of both Plato and Aristotle, a voluminous writer on all possible subjects, including historical. None of his works have come down to us, and Plutarch probably merely repeats his name as he found it cited, by some writer or commentator, on the Xerxes side of this curiously mooted point.

Idomeneus of Lampsacus is an author to whom Plutarch is under great obligations in his *Aristides*, and whose peculiar material he must have known indirectly at least, if not directly, in his *Themistocles*. Idomeneus was a pupil and friend of Epicurus (*ob.* 270), but a degenerate disciple of his great master. Apparently to palliate the wantonness of his own life, he collected alleged instances of wantonness in the great men of the past. The higher the eminence of the man, the more emphatic the lesson of his lapses and falls. Hence the union of adulation and slander in the traces of the biographical work of Idomeneus. He wrote a biographical work on "The Socratics," and another on "The Demagogues." In the latter, of course, Themistocles and Aristides would be treated. Plutarch speaks depreciatingly of him in *Pericles*, x., and *Demosthenes*, xxiii.; cites him thrice in the *Aristides*, and undoubtedly takes large material from him in that biography without mentioning him by name. Idomeneus is to Plutarch in the *Aristides*, what Phanias is in the *Themistocles*,—a welcome source for much sensational material which his better judgment tells him is of dubious value.

Duris, a pupil of Theophrastus, historian and tyrant of

Samos, lived from about 350 to about 280 B.C., and wrote a history of Greece from 370 to 281 B.C. Only fragments of his works have reached us, and it is hard to estimate them. Plutarch disparages his style and doubts his veracity, and yet, as in the case of Phanias and Idomeneus, finds welcome material in his writings. He does not cite him for the *Themistocles*, though he may use his materials, directly or indirectly, in chapter ii.; he cites him by name in *Pericles*, xxvii., a biography written before the *Aristides*, and in *Alcibiades*, xxxii.

There remain seven, out of the twenty-eight authors cited by name in the *Themistocles*, but there is no need here of anything more than an alphabetical list of them, with just enough biographical notice to differentiate them, since Plutarch uses them for isolated details only, and that too, in some cases, at second hand, as he finds them cited in other authorities on whom he is depending more. The list is as follows:—

Acestodorus, cited at xiii. 1. Nothing further is positively known about him. It may be the Acestodorus of Megalopolis, of unknown date, who is mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium between Ainesias, a pupil of Theophrastus, and Polybius, as author of a work "On Cities."

Charon of Lampsacus, cited at xxvii. 1. A "logographer," predecessor of Herodotus, writing *Persica*, after the manner of annals. Plutarch cites him only here.

Clitarchus, cited at xxvii. 1. A son of Dinon, author of a history of Alexander which was written while Alexander's career was fresh in men's minds, and which incorporated the most romantic and fanciful conceptions of that career into the historical form which became most popular, and even canonical. Plutarch uses him, of course, in his *Alexander*.

Dinon of Colophon, cited at xxvii. 1. The father of Clitarchus, author of a standard history of Persia, which was written during the campaigns of Alexander, and brought the history of the empire down to 340 B.C. He is used by Plutarch in the *Artaxerxes*.

Eratosthenes of Cyrene, cited at xxvii. 3. Librarian at

Alexandria under Ptolemy Euergetes and his two successors, most distinguished as geographer and chronologist, 275–194 B.C. He wrote also on philosophy and ethics, and the work here cited by Plutarch was of this nature.

Neanthes of Cyzicus, cited in i. 2, and xxix. 4. A rhetorician of the school of Isocrates, who flourished about 240 B.C., and wrote a book on "Illustrious Men," a History of Greece, and a History of Attalus of Pergamum (241–197). The third and fourth books of his Greek History treated of the Persian Wars.

Phylarchus, cited in xxxii. 2 with such depreciation of his style and veracity, was an Athenian historian of the period 272–220, a contemporary of Aratus (*ob.* 213 B.C.), the main authority for Plutarch in his *Agis and Cleomenes*, and *Pyrrhus*. His work was after the order of Duris of Samos, and Phanias, whom Plutarch finds so serviceable in spite of their failings.

(c) ANALYSIS OF THE *THEMISTOCLES*.

The first natural division, chapters i.–v., covers the first period of the hero's life,—his birth, education, and early political career, down to the ostracism of Aristides (483). Themistocles was of obscure birth, plain education, and obliged to struggle for social and political recognition. He was ambitious, clever, impetuous, and in his earlier years dissipated. Fired by the fame of Miltiades, he maps out a naval policy for Athens which shall enable her to cope with Persia on the sea. In carrying out this policy, he ingratiates himself with the common people, and antagonizes successfully both Miltiades and Aristides, the leaders of the aristocracy. Aristides is at last ostracized.

Of the twelve anecdotes which embellish this division, many are loosely used. They sometimes illustrate later periods in the life of Themistocles than the one under consideration, and are often inventions of a time after the victory of Salamis. Most of the narrative material also is inferential in its nature. Given a few fundamental facts on

good authority, such as the lowly birth of Themistocles, his far-seeing naval policy, and his political triumph over Aristides, all of which are clearly brought out in Herodotus and Thucydides, and most of the rest of the material is such as might naturally be invented on the basis of these facts, to give desired but lacking biographical detail. Most of it comes, in fact, so far as we can trace it at all, from writers later even than the century in which Themistocles lived. Plutarch seems to write *currente calamo*, from well-stocked memory and copious notes. The authorities actually mentioned in this division are Phanias, Neanthes, Simonides, Stesimbrotus (twice), Ariston, and Plato; but there are several vague plural phrases of reference, such as "some," "others," "the story-makers;" and some vague general *formulae* like "it is said," "it is thought," "it is agreed," the significance of which can never be satisfactorily determined. It certainly cannot be proved, however, that Plutarch is reproducing some predecessor's blend of biographical material. The combination is his own.

The second division, chapters vi.-xviii., covers the second period in the life of Themistocles, from the ostracism of Aristides (483) through the events immediately following upon the victory at Salamis (480). Familiarity with the greater events of the period is assumed in the reader. The details are, in the main, Herodotean, but the spirit is Thucydidean, and even Ephorean, *i. e.* not simply favorable, but adulatory. Having achieved the naval supremacy of Athens in spite of the opposition of Miltiades and Aristides, who thought the victory of heavy-armed troops at Marathon glory and prophecy enough, Themistocles inspired the Athenians to defy the Persian King; united all the southern Greeks by wisely yielding, even in naval matters, to the presumptuous claims of Sparta; participated in the abortive attempt to block the Persian advance at the Vale of Tempe; persuaded reluctant allies to unite in the three days' naval struggle off Artemisium; sowed the seeds of disintegration in the King's fleet during the slow retreat down the coast

before the victorious enemy; was foremost in persuading the Athenians to abandon their city and make their fleet their home; overcame, at last, by a desperate stratagem, the purpose of the allies to retire still farther down the coast, and brought on a naval engagement in such narrow quarters that the Greeks, even though disheartened and irresolute, contended on favorable terms with the superior numbers of their enemy's ships, and inflicted on him and his invasion a checking blow,—“that fair and notorious victory,” as Simonides sang, “than which no more brilliant exploit was ever performed upon the sea.”

I deem it a literary impossibility that Plutarch should have written this division without consulting Herodotus, the famous ultimate authority for the events. But he certainly treats Herodotus with the greatest freedom. He cites him twice by name for startling details merely, and once incorrectly at that; changes the order of his events and the names of his speakers; extracts all the venom from his stories about Themistocles; embellishes with citations from *Æschylus*, *Pindar*, *Simonides*,—most welcome authentic testimony,—as well as from the arch romancer Phanias, and the statelier Aristotle, not to mention the antiquarians Clidemus and Phanodemus, and the unknown Acestodorus. Again, as in the first division, the vague general phrases of reference,—as to a “cloud of witnesses,”—abound (there are some nine in all); again the division is brought to a close by a chapter containing a farrago of stories, good, bad, and indifferent, perhaps a page of the commonplace-book copied entire; and again the combination, which is, after all, highly artistic, must be credited to Plutarch himself, and not to any intermediate compiler or biographer, except in the way of suggestion.

The best tradition, including the testimony of Aristophanes and the Old Comedy, makes the great triumph of Themistocles due, not to valor, but to wisdom and adroitness. It was the far-sighted diplomat whom, for a brief space, Peloponnesus and Attica united to honor. And it is the quality

of diplomatic adroitness which the anecdotal element of this second division most illustrates. The *bon-mots* are probably rhetorical inventions of the century after Themistocles. They might just as well be ascribed to any one who had achieved eminence and power from lowly origins.

The third division, chapters xix.-xxii., covers the career of Themistocles from his marvellous triumph to his ostracism, a period of about seven years. For this period there is little positive evidence of any sort. Herodotus has almost none, Thucydides but little. Plutarch's outline is exceedingly summary, and he fails almost entirely, as usual, to give any clear idea of the political combination in consequence of which Themistocles fell so low from an eminence so high. He tells us of the diplomatic trick by which Themistocles deceived Sparta and secured the rebuilding of the walls of Athens (Thucydides); of the building of the walls of the Piraeus, and the emphasis put by Themistocles on his naval policy in opposition to Aristides and the nobles (Thucydides); he hints at the growth of Spartan hatred for Themistocles and favor for his young rival Cimon; at the onslaught of angry enemies, like Timocreon of Rhodes; at a growing unpopularity of Themistocles which he increases by wearisome references to his own services; but at last the political crash comes in rather abruptly and Themistocles is ostracized, just about ten years after the ostracism of his rival Aristides. The current notes will supply fuller explanation than Plutarch does of so speedy and so utter a reversal of fortune.

The authentic material of this division is based almost entirely on Thucydides, though he is not mentioned by name, and it is reinforced by ornamental citations or reminiscences from Aristophanes and Plato; by much curious material from some of the antiquarian writers,—Clidemus, perhaps, or Philochorus; and by malicious stories of late invention, one or two possibly from Theopomus, who is cited by name for one. Herodotus is used by name for an incident that does not belong in this period at all.

Contemporary evidence of the highest value is given in the citations from Timocreon, but side by side with worthless stories of late manufacture. The phrases of vague plural or general reference are fewer in number, and the blend, or combination is not so successful as in the other divisions. The modern historian also finds little authentic material to serve him in the reconstruction of this particular period of the political activity of Athens.

The fourth division, chapters xxiii.-xxxii., covers the last period of Themistocles' career,— his exile for treason, his Persian adventures and successes, his death and burial. The incidents occurring in Hellas are, in the main, well authenticated history, being largely a transcription of Thucydides (i. 135-7). The adventures in Persia are almost wholly of romantic invention. Plutarch gives a residence in Argos with political moves against Sparta; Spartan charges that the correspondence of their own traitor, Pausanias, implicated Themistocles also; a summons to appear before a Hellenic tribunal and answer to a charge of treason; the flight to Persia by way of Corcyra, Epirus, and Macedonia,— mostly after Thucydides. But here he admits freely into his narrative the ornamental but purely fictitious anecdotes with which late authorities supplied him. From the time when the great figure of Themistocles vanished forever from Hellas, Hellenic fancy revelled in picturing to itself the adventures through which this unrivalled diplomat forged his way from the position of prime foe to that of prime friend of the Great King. That he did so somehow, his princely residence at Magnesia, with this and other Greek cities tributary to his wants, indisputably showed. But how did he do so? and what price did he pay for the Great King's favor? Such questions Hellenic fancy asked, and, in the absence of other answers, answered them for itself. Through intrigue and mortal peril Themistocles gained access to the royal presence, astonished the Great King by his bold readiness of resource, adopted Persian language and manners so as to out-Persian the Persian courtiers, lived like a royal satrap on

the confines of the empire closest to Hellas, under such obligations to do anti-Hellenic service to the King that at last he took his own life rather than try to fulfil them. He had splendid burial at Magnesia, though in later times his descendants dared to claim a secret burial of his remains in Attic soil, at his own request, and tradition fixed his Attic tomb near the entrance to the Piraeus, his greatest creation.

Thucydides' brief and cautious testimony is fully utilized by Plutarch, but is most generously expanded and supplemented, from Ephorus and Phanias especially. All three authors are cited by name, as well as more than a dozen others. No better example could be given of the wide extent of Plutarch's reading, even though it be granted that a considerable group of these authors are cited at second hand. The result is a brilliant literary mosaic, in which fact and fancy are inextricably united to form the ethical pattern. Stesimbrotus, Charon, and Andocides supply items from the fifth century's traditions; Theopompus and Theophrastus are drawn upon for rhetorical and philosophical inventions of the fourth century; Neanthes and Phylarchus are brilliant representatives of the third century's historiography, and there is more than the usual reference to vague aggregates of writers. Most interesting of all, a Themistocles of the century after Christ, lineal descendant of the hero of Salamis, and inheritor of the family traditions and properties, supplies his intimate friend and fellow student, the writer of the *Themistocles*, with minute details from his family archives.

III. ARISTIDES AND THE TRADITION OF HIS HISTORY IN PLUTARCH'S *LIFE*.

(a) ARISTIDES IN THE PERSIAN WARS.

Plutarch assumes, in his *Aristides*, the reader's familiarity with the same general outline of events as in the *Themistocles*. It need not therefore be repeated here. There is this striking difference, however, that in the *Aristides* the

political activity of the two rivals is pushed back into the period before Marathon. There is not the slightest evidence for this except that which is drawn from late authorities, as the current notes will fully show (see the note on the *Themistocles*, iii. 3). Authentic evidence from contemporary or proximate sources knows nothing of either Aristides or Themistocles until after Marathon, nor does Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, among later sources. Still later tradition, however, insisted that the two heroes of Salamis should be heroes of Marathon also, and generously invented details of their conduct on that field which illustrated the noble rivalry between them and the two types of character long since firmly fixed in men's remembrance of them. Moreover, since Aristides was felt to have been the elder of the two,—and probably was, although it cannot be positively proven,—a still earlier political activity was assigned to him as intimate friend of the reformer Cleisthenes (508 B.C.). There is nothing chronologically improbable in this; there is simply no good evidence for it. But when he wrote his *Aristides*, Plutarch clearly surrendered himself to the influence of late and largely romantic authorities much more than he had done in the *Themistocles*.

This is not strange. Contemporary and proximate sources, and particularly Herodotus and Thucydides, have almost no details concerning Aristides. His was clearly a co-operative rather than an initiating personality. Two episodes in Herodotus,—the magnanimous offer of his services in aid of his rival at Salamis (viii. 79–82), and his slaughter of the Persians on the islet of Psyttaleia toward the close of the engagement,—exhaust the list; and in Thucydides there are merely two passing allusions to the man: once (i. 91, 3) as colleague of Themistocles in the embassy to Sparta which was part of the great stratagem for securing the rebuilding of the walls of Athens; and once (v. 18, 5) as the one “in whose time” the contributions of the cities to the Delian League were established. Aristides may have been present at Marathon, probably was, we may say, from the evidence

at our command ; it is possible that Themistocles was present, but neither raised himself above the thousands of other Athenians who contributed namelessly to the victory of Miltiades. The naval policy of Themistocles, ostensibly directed against the Æginetans, but far-sightedly against the Persians, made the victory of Salamis possible. It was so opposed by Aristides that he was removed by ostracism, and he took up his residence while in exile, as we may safely gather from the first episode in Herodotus wherein he appears, with the bitterest Hellenic enemies of Athens, the Æginetans. His magnanimity in offering his services in the battle of Salamis was far surpassed by that of Themistocles in accepting them. And even Herodotus, the malignant traducer of Themistocles, and the extravagant admirer of Aristides, wherein he but mirrors Athenian sentiment during the culmination of the Periclean epoch (440–430), can give Aristides but faint glory in the great achievement. The name of Aristides never became synonymous with the victory of Salamis, as that of Themistocles did.

Nor is it synonymous with the victory of Platæa in the year following Salamis, although here Themistocles played no part at all. In his *Themistocles*, Plutarch has not a word to say of the victories over the Persians which immediately followed Salamis,—the victories of Platæa and Mycale. But his account of one of them, Platæa, occupies almost half of his *Aristides*. Late tradition tried to make the name of Aristides synonymous with Platæa. It did this by concentrating on Aristides the actions attributed by the primary authority, Herodotus, to the Athenians in general, and by inventing fresh personal details.

With the departure of Xerxes and his fleet, leaving a picked force of infantry behind in Thessaly and Boeotia, the problem confronting the southern Greeks changed so radically that Themistocles with his naval policy and leadership were suddenly useless, or at least unnecessary. Land forces, not a fleet, must oppose Mardonius. By the following spring (479), Sparta and heavy-armed infantry, rather than Athens

and triremes, were in highest demand. Not a word is heard of Themistocles during the great struggle which annihilated the Persian armies left behind in Greece, and swept the Aegean Sea clear of the Persian fleets. To Sparta and Pausanias belongs by common consent the glory of Platæa. Even Herodotus here rises high above the seductions of partisan Athenian misrepresentation, forty or fifty years after the events, and pronounces judgment in clear and decisive tones: "Then did Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, and grandson of Anaxandridas, win a victory exceeding in glory all those to which our knowledge extends" (ix. 64). Athenian tradition had warped the facts this way and that, in order to magnify the really subordinate part taken by the Athenian contingent at Platæa, and to minimize the parts taken by states which had since the events become intensely hateful to Athens, and even to cast aspersions on Spartan courage; but it dared not detract from the solitary pre-eminence in glory due to Pausanias for the final victory. So Thucydides has the Platæans speak of the victory won in their territory as that of Pausanias pre-eminently and almost alone. At least, no other commander's name is associated with the victory (ii. 71, 2). Salamis and Themistocles had been, within one short year, obscured by Platæa and Pausanias. There had been no call during that year for the peculiar services which Themistocles could render. The Athenian fleet was foremost, it is true, in the victory at Mycale, but Themistocles was not there; a political rival of his was in command of the Athenian forces at Mycale as well as at Platæa. Too much honor for Salamis had been heaped upon a man of lowly origin and slender means.

But there came a call at once. Again the cunning diplomat rather than the bluff and simple warrior was needed. When the Athenians, after fighting the Persians victoriously on sea and land for three years, returned to the site of their city, which had been twice laid waste by the enemy, they set themselves at once to the task of rebuilding and fortify-

ing it. Their greatest rival, Sparta, whose only walls were impenetrable mountains and well-drilled soldiers, and who had no natural connection with the sea, protested. "They would rather themselves have seen neither the Athenians nor any one else protected by a wall; but their main motive was the importunity of their allies, who dreaded not only the Athenian navy, which had until lately been quite small, but also the spirit which had animated them in the Persian War. So the Lacedæmonians requested them not to restore their walls, but on the contrary to join with them in razing the fortifications of other towns outside the Peloponnesus which had been standing" (*Thucydides*, i. 90, 1, 2). If the Persians came again, the Lacedæmonians argued, the Peloponnesus would be a sufficient retreat for all Hellas, and the enemy would have no such strong place for his headquarters as he had recently found in Thebes. In this hour of diplomatic need, Themistocles comes again to the front. The Lacedæmonians must be outwitted, and Themistocles must outwit them. The ruse by which he does it is told with unusual detail by Thucydides, and in his best narrative manner. And as the gods, according to Æschylus, had smiled upon the great ruse of Themistocles at Salamis, and Aristides had approved it and co-operated in it, so it was now. Aristides helped his rival in this his crowning stratagem, playing again a very subordinate rôle. Themistocles deliberately offered up in sacrifice to his country's needs a popularity in Sparta such as no non-Spartan had ever enjoyed. "The friendship of the Lacedæmonian magistrates for Themistocles," says Thucydides, "induced them to believe him" (i. 91, 1). But with the success of the ruse and the humiliating defeat of Sparta's representative diplomacy, the popularity of Themistocles in Sparta was succeeded by a relentless hate which pursued him steadily until it succeeded in banishing him from Athens, and at last in exiling him from Hellas under charge of treason. The first step in this policy of hatred toward Themistocles was to throw the whole weight of Spartan influence with the strong political

party at Athens opposed to him. This was not an aristocratic as opposed to a democratic party, as Plutarch represents it, for Athens was irrevocably democratic; but rather a democratic party which insisted on aristocratic leadership, as opposed to a democratic party under plebeian leadership; a party under the lead of Aristides and Cimon, representatives of two of the most powerful aristocratic families at Athens, opposed to a party under the lead of a *novus homo*, with no distinguished ancestors and no fortune, as Herodotus introduces him to us (vii. 143, 1).

No reversal of national policy ensued when the party of Aristides, Cimon and Sparta secured a preponderance of Athenian democratic votes. They simply appropriated the fruits of a policy which Themistocles had inaugurated and carried to triumphant success, while they supplanted the author of the policy. And the passage of the naval hegemony from Sparta to Athens while Aristides and Cimon were in command of the Athenian fleet, during the years 478–476 B.C., was not due wholly to the attractive characters of Aristides and Cimon, as contrasted with that of Pausanias, as Thucydides is careful to point out (i. 95 *fin.*), but to the Spartan friendliness toward Athens under other leadership than that of the hated Themistocles.

In describing this transfer of the naval hegemony, Thucydides speaks only of "Athenians" in general, and knows nothing, apparently, of any predominating personal influence, either on the part of Aristides or Cimon. So in his account of the battles of Plataea, Herodotus deals only with the "Athenians" in general, though he notes the fact that Aristides is their commander-in-chief. But the rhetorical historians of the next century, and biographers like Idomeneus of Lampsacus who follow them, are not content to deal with such general terms. Actions determined by the deliberative agreement of a college of generals, in the absence of any easily predominating personality like those of Miltiades or Themistocles, must be referred to the deci-

sion of one man, for the greater effect of the story. And so we have in the later versions of the history of Platæa and the transfer of the naval hegemony, ascription of all Athenian action to Aristides, and to Aristides or Cimon. For the flexibility of this later version of history is seen in the fact that in his *Aristides*, Plutarch lays the attraction of the allies from Sparta to Athens to the dominant personal influence of Aristides; but in his *Cimon*, to that of Cimon. As a biographer, Plutarch naturally falls in with this tendency of later historical tradition, and even improves upon it.

There is nothing in the best historical evidence to show that Aristides rose far above the Athenian average of ability or probity. He certainly had no genius with which to dazzle friends and foes alike, as Themistocles had. With all the will in the world to do so, Herodotus finds no justification in the popular tradition of his day at Athens for making Aristides play any very distinguished part at Platæa, nor did Æschylus in his *Persians* (472 b. c.), the political purpose of which is so plainly to rescue Aristides from total eclipse by the glory of Themistocles. On the contrary, the Persian disaster at Platæa, prophesied by the ghost of Darius (vv. 816 ff.), is to be caused by "the Dorian spear." With the two greatest stratagems of Themistocles, Aristides is heartily in accord, and lends his active aid to carry them through. But just as the later romantic tradition insists on emphasizing and multiplying striking illustrations of the cunning and unscrupulous financial successes of Themistocles, so, and in much the same degree, does it deal with the probity and consequent poverty of Aristides. The more the two characters and careers were contrasted by rhetoricians and philosophers of the fourth and following centuries, the more the piquant illustrative material was multiplied, until it is a grievous task to thread one's way, even in the case of so prosaic a career as that of Aristides, between fact and fiction. There is, however, this notable difference in the two cases: fiction begins to accumulate around the tradition of Themistocles' career during his

life-time, owing to the unsurpassed romance of the actual facts of his life, as in the case of Alexander; whereas the fiction which grew up about the tradition of Aristides' career is almost wholly a product of later centuries.

The Confederacy of Delos was undoubtedly formed (477) while Aristides and Cimon were in command of the naval forces which Themistocles had created for them, and the delicate question of the contributions of the allies to the common fund was settled under their general guidance. Later tradition has in this as in other matters concentrated the credit almost wholly, and to an exaggerated degree, upon Aristides. He may have been influential in the matter, but hardly so autocratic as romantic writers represent. And the salient personality of the traitor Pausanias, vividly portrayed by the master hand of Thucydides, also tended to evoke, in the tradition of the rhetorical and philosophical schools, contrasting traits in the fainter portrait of Aristides. After this he falls decidedly into the background. It was in the interests of Cimon, not Aristides, that Themistocles was ostracized (about 472), and the brilliant successes of Cimon after this seem to have been won independently of his former patron and friend. Nothing but late and uncertain testimony reaches us concerning the remaining years of Aristides' life, which probably closed quietly in 468 b. c., while his more brilliant but unfortunate rival, Themistocles, was a hunted fugitive among the Greek cities of Asia Minor.

(b) THE SOURCES OF PLUTARCH IN HIS *ARISTIDES*.

The sources of Plutarch in his *Aristides* are, as in the *Themistocles*, Herodotus and Thucydides wherever they afford material; and since the story of Platæa in Herodotus, and of the fortification of Athens and the Piræus in Thucydides must have been famous specimens of those great historians' method and manner to Plutarch as well as to us, it cannot be allowed that Plutarch makes no direct use of them. How he uses them, what variations he allows

himself from them, what combinations from other sources he makes with them, are questions for the answer to which the current notes will afford material. He cites Herodotus by name only twice (xvi. 1; xix. 4); Thucydides once (xxiv. 3.).

Next to Herodotus and Thucydides, Plutarch seems to be most indebted in this *Life* to Idomeneus of Lampsacus (see p. 42), who is cited by name thrice (i. 5; iv. 2; x. 5), and to whose work many other portions are, in all probability, largely indebted. It is not necessary, however, to assume that all the departures from Herodotus and Thucydides in Plutarch are due to Idomeneus. Plutarch undoubtedly falls of necessity, from sheer lack of biographical material, into the constructive manner of his later sources.

Other sources common to the *Aristides* and *Themistocles*, and already sufficiently described in this Introduction, are, in alphabetical order:—

Æschylus, from whose *Seven against Thebes* a passage is cited in iii. 3; see p. 30. Ariston of Ceos, cited in ii. 3; see p. 41. Aristotle (Pseudo-), cited in xxvii. 2; see p. 40. Craterus, cited in xxvi. 1, and used several times elsewhere; see p. 40. Clidemus, cited in xix. 3, and probably used elsewhere; see p. 39. Plato, cited in xxv. 6; see p. 36. Theophrastus, cited in xxv. 2; see p. 41.

The other sources cited by name in the *Aristides*,—these also arranged in alphabetical order,—are as follows:—

Æschines the Socratic, cited for the long and dramatic story of Aristides and Callias in xxv. 6. Æschines was an ardent disciple of Socrates, and is mentioned by Plato among those present at the Master's condemnation and death. He was author of seven Socratic dialogues which were in great repute. Among them was a *Callias*, from which the story cited probably came. It is a useful specimen of the illustrative personal anecdote as invented by the philosophical schools. It has high rhetorical, but no historical worth.

Aristoxenus the Musician, cited in xxvii. 2, with three other authorities (namely, Demetrius the Phalerean, Hierony-

mus the Rhodian, and Pseudo-Aristotle), for the tradition that Socrates was a bigamist; but as sufficiently refuted by Panætius. This makes it probable that the citation was taken over from Panætius by Plutarch. Aristoxenus was a native of Tarentum, and became a pupil of Aristotle. Of his voluminous writings the most important were in the domain of rhythm and metre, and these alone have survived in any considerable fragments. On these subjects he is the greatest ancient authority. He is said to have spoken depreciatingly of his master, Aristotle, as we know he did of Plato and Socrates, in his *Lives* of these men.

Callisthenes, cited in xxvii. 2 for an item concerning a granddaughter of Aristides, is probably the Callisthenes of Olynthus who was a pupil of Aristotle with Theophrastus and Alexander, and accompanied the latter on his eastern campaigns as historian, by recommendation of Aristotle. He was more independent and sane in his estimates of Alexander's achievements than many other contemporaries, but his weight as an historical witness was slight. He wrote a general history of Greece, from which this citation of Plutarch's comes, perhaps indirectly, as well as a special history of Alexander's campaigns down to the death of Darius (330 B. C.). None of his works have reached us, except in fragments. His own death, under condemnation of Alexander, followed shortly after that of Darius.

Demetrius of Phalerum, whose book on Socrates is five times cited in the *Aristides* (i. 1; i. 5; v. 5; xxvii. 2; xxvii. 3), was regent at Athens for Cassander from 317 to 307 B. C., "a cultured high-liver, playing the rôle of Savior of Society." He had a singularly varied career as orator, statesman, philosopher and poet, and wrote voluminously on history, polities, poetry and rhetoric. The closing years of his life (296-283), and those of his greatest literary activity, were spent in Egypt at the court of the first and second Ptolemies. The genesis of the great Alexandrian library is credited to him. It looks as though Plutarch used him as a source only when discussing the academic question of the poverty

of Aristides, and then perhaps at second hand, through Panætius.

Hieronymus the Rhodian, cited in xxvii. 2, probably at second hand, was a disciple of Aristotle, and flourished about 300 b. c. Like most of the Peripatetic school he wrote on historical subjects, probably in the way of compilation. He is not to be confounded with his contemporary, Hieronymus of Cardia, who wrote a history of Alexander's successors.

Panætius the Stoic, of Rhodes, cited in i. 4 and xxvii. 2, flourished between 150 and 110 b. c. He was the chief founder of the Stoic school at Rome, winning over to his teachings many influential Romans. He accompanied the younger Scipio in 143 on an embassy to Alexandria, and succeeded to the headship of the Stoic school at Athens, where he died. He showed a rare critical attitude toward the loose and romantic traditions of history. He wrote essays on ethical themes like those of Plutarch's *Morals*, and was thus, both in career and literary inclinations, an author sure to be congenial to Plutarch. It was probably in a special tract "On Socrates" that he discussed the positions of Demetrius concerning that teacher.

In chapter ix. of the *Aristides*, Plutarch evidently uses his own *Themistocles* for material there (c. xiii. 2) ascribed to Phanias (see p. 41).

In chapter v. 5, the official lists of archons to which Plutarch refers may be an independent source, and not found, as the current note suggests, in Clidemus, or some other of the archæological *Atthis*-writers.

It can hardly be doubted that Ephorus is used in adapting Herodotus' account of the battles of Plataea, chapters x.-xxi. see p. 37.

(c) ANALYSIS OF THE *ARISTIDES*

The *Aristides* is no such work of art as the *Themistocles*. It is clearly something of a *tour de force*, in order to secure as good a match as possible for the *Cato*, with which it

is paired. The principle of parallelism is the least successful of Plutarch's contributions to biography, and the one with which we can at the least loss dispense. Its aim was not historical, but ethical, and the history is often strained to secure the desired similarity in ethical situation. In moral character Themistocles may be somewhat allied with Camillus, and Aristides with Cato, but not as historical personalities,—not as statesmen or warriors. Aristides was not an aggressive personality like Themistocles, or like Cato, and for that very reason little authentic personal detail about him was handed down to the generation immediately following him. This is true of the earlier career of Themistocles,—the career before the threatened invasion of Xerxes,—but immediately ceases to be true, so that there was an embarrassment of riches in the material at Plutarch's command for writing his *Life*. But it is true of the entire career of Aristides, so that Plutarch is put to it to get material enough for a biography. He therefore follows a clue given him by the third-century biographers and historians, and ascribes to Aristides personally all that Herodotus and Thucydides credit to the Athenians in general. Occasionally he goes further, and ascribes to Aristides what the elder sources clearly ascribe to other distinct individuals. This gives him the bulk of his biography. For the rest, he draws, as in the *Themistocles*, on late and apocryphal anecdotic material, or he moralizes, or discusses at undue length such academical questions as the poverty of his hero, or digresses into descriptions of battles and monuments and celebrations, far beyond the lines which he has elsewhere laid down for himself. Historically, however, the *Themistocles* and *Aristides* supplement each other in the most welcome manner, as do the *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, and this is excuse enough for abandoning Plutarch's questionable parallelism between Roman and Greek, and adopting one between two Athenian rival statesmen and commanders.

Any analysis of the *Aristides* must be more arbitrary than that of the *Themistocles*, since it is more loosely constructed.

If arbitrary, it may well be such as will facilitate comparison of the two careers. On this principle, the first division of the *Aristides*, chapters i.-vii., will cover the birth, station, and property of the hero, his early rivalry with Themistocles and contrast to him in disposition and character, his behavior and services at Marathon, and his ostracism,—a period from an uncertain date well towards the middle of the sixth century, down to 483 B.C.

Aristides was of noble birth, according to Plutarch, but poor, a position from which no evidence will drive the amiable writer. He was the intimate friend of the great democratic reformer Clisthenes (508), but favored an aristocratic form of government, like the Spartan, and so came into life-long opposition to Themistocles. Generous apocryphal material is adduced to account for and illustrate this rivalry in character and political activity, as well as the calm, undeviating rectitude of Aristides. The tradition of Marathon as established by Herodotus is altered and enlarged with apocryphal material to show the bravery, unselfishness, and perfect incorruptibility of Aristides. The surname of "The Just" is carried back from the fourth century to the fifth for him, some mild philosophy is expended on the themes of "virtue" and "justice," and the ostracism is made to descend upon him because Themistocles made the Athenians think him too just. No passage could better illustrate Plutarch's lack of grasp for political crises. It is not the opposition of Aristides to the popular naval policy of Themistocles which brings his ostracism by the Athenian people, according to Plutarch, but their jealousy of his superior "justice."

While Herodotus, of course, furnishes the foundation for the picture of Marathon, he is not mentioned by name, and his version is altered and supplemented in sundry ways under the stress of dearth of material, and the influence of late, third-century writers. Demetrius of Phalerum, Idomeneus of Lampsacus, and Panætius the Stoic are the writers cited by name in this division, and there is the same

indication here and there, as in the *Themistocles*, of aggregations of authorities who might be cited on this side of a question or on that. But in general, the *Aristides* draws from a far smaller range of sources than the *Themistocles*, and it is probable that some single guide, like Idomeneus, is more extensively followed, even though controverted at times in detail.

The second division of the *Life*, chapters viii., ix., covers simply the participation of Aristides in the battle of Salamis and the counsels which immediately followed it. The outline is Herodotean, though great liberties have been taken with the shading, and some apocryphal embellishments from late sources have been added, as the current notes fully show. No authority is cited by name in this division, not even Herodotus, because Plutarch evidently assumes the familiarity of his reader with that historian's greater story. Besides, Salamis was the glory of Themistocles, not of Aristides, even with all the accretions of later invention, and had already been fully described by Plutarch in the *Themistocles*.

The third division of the *Life*, chapters x.-xxi., covers the campaign of 479, ending with the battles of Plataea. This is the main division of the biography. It is practically the story of Plataea by Herodotus, freely adapted and supplemented by material from Ephorus and later writers, as the current notes show in detail, and above all individualized, so far as Athenian participation allowed at all, in favor of Aristides. Aristides is made to appear the chief figure,—the real, though not the nominal commander of the Greek forces, without whom Pausanias would have made a disastrous campaign of it. Herodotus is cited once by name for material differing essentially from that which he really gives,—very likely a citation from memory, confused with other reading; and once by name in order to protest,—and protest most righteously,—against his partisan Athenian version of the losses in the battles. Idomeneus is cited once by name, with the implication that his version of the matter is exaggerated and untrue; Craterus is used to refute him,

though not mentioned by name (x. 5). The vague plural "some" is used once when the reference is clearly to a definite antiquarian authority, teaching us that other vague plural terms of reference may cover single authorities.

The fourth division of the *Aristides*, chapters xxii., xxiii., covers the diminishing activity of the hero in the years immediately following Platea, as his light paled before that of Cimon, and especially his part in securing the naval supremacy for Athens, and in regulating the financial affairs of the new Delian League. The probabilities are wrenched to make him survive and even acquiesce in the transfer of the treasury of the League from Delos to Athens. Then nothing remains but to revert to the standing themes of his justice and poverty, with which the biography opened, and the standard close, as in the *Themistocles*, is found in accounts of his death, burial, and posterity. Late personalization of general history, and apocryphal anecdote abound in this portion of the *Life*, as was to be expected in the absence of authentic material. For the transfer of the naval hegemony, Thucydides is, of course, the ultimate authority, though for this part he is not cited by name, and his testimony is greatly distorted in the free-hand elaboration of it which either Plutarch himself makes, or adopts from Idomeneus. Thucydides is cited by name for the item of the amount of annual income to the Athenian imperial treasury; Theophrastus, for a paradoxical and improbable story illustrative of justice yielding to the demands of expediency; Æschines the Socratic, for a dramatic and purely fictitious story contrasting the poor Aristides with the wealthy Callias; Plato, for a sentiment which is a combination of two widely separated utterances quoted freely from memory; and, regarding the posterity of the hero, Panætius the Stoic evidently supplies Plutarch with a group of five authorities whom we need not suppose him to have consulted independently: Aristoxenus, Callisthenes, Demetrius of Phalerum, Hieronymus the Rhodian, and Pseudo-Aristotle. Craterus again furnishes documentary material without getting explicit credit for it, and

is once censured by name for not basing his statements on his usual good evidence. In chapter xxii. Plutarch evidently uses again his own *Themistocles* (c. xx.), as in xxiii. 1 he borrows and adapts from his own *Cimon* (cc. v., vi.). The presence and influence of Idomeneus is most strongly felt in such a chapter as xxiv.; the moulding and blending and generously supplying hand of Plutarch, in such a chapter as xxv. In the opening of chapter xxvi. Plutarch seems to divide all the sources whom he has laid under contribution for his *Aristides* into three classes: Craterus, with his unsubstantiated story of the death of Aristides under condemnation for bribery; "some," who say he died in Pontus on a commission of state; "others," who say he died at Athens in age and honor. Altogether, this closing division of the *Aristides* shows how impossible it is to set bounds to the freely shaping activity of Plutarch upon generously accumulated material, even though he may follow more closely than elsewhere, or than usual, some one convenient biographical predecessor.

IV. BIOGRAPHY BEFORE PLUTARCH.

The survey of authorities thus made merely for two *Lives*, shows plainly that Plutarch was by no means the originator of artistic biography. He marks rather the culmination of a long process of evolution both in material and form. The main lines of this evolution can be traced, in spite of the enormous losses which Greek literature has sustained.

The great intellectual movement at Athens toward the close of the fifth century B.C., which is voiced for us by such exponents as Euripides, Thucydides, and Socrates, directed attention to the individual and the personal as the only true source of any proper conception of the typical, the general, and the universal. When Thucydides wrote his elaborate excursus on the end of Pausanias and Themistocles, the greatest Hellenes of their time, he gave us our earliest specimen of Greek biography,—portions of

Lives, with distinct character-sketching. The more complete and rounded character-sketches in Xenophon's *Anabasis*, written during the second quarter of the fourth century, show that the biographical element was finding larger and larger place in distinctly historical composition, probably owing to the development, as distinct literary forms, of the Eulogy and the Encomium. The rhetorical historians of the second half of the fourth century, Ephorus and Theopompos, evidently responded still more to the growing, and now perhaps prevailing tendency to emphasize the importance of the individual man as a shaping factor in the course of events. It was an era of great, and even colossal personalities. Its history had to be largely biography. It was therefore natural that, when earlier history was rewritten to serve as introduction and background for the new, its meagre traditions should be generously individualized, so that, for instance, what had been ascribed to Athenians or Lacedæmonians in general, should now be made the personal achievement of a Themistocles, an Aristides, or a Pausanias.

The great schools of philosophy, too, the Academic and the Peripatetic, studiously fostered an interest in the greater personalities,—at first the men of thought, the thinkers and teachers, then the men of action, statesmen and commanders. Plato and Xenophon had realized to themselves and transmitted to others intensely vivid conceptions of the character and life of Socrates their Master. Successors to Plato in the line of Academic teaching elaborated lovingly their memoirs of the Great Disciple as well as of the Founder; and rival teachers in the rival school, like Aristoxenus of Tarentum, wrote *Lives* of Socrates and Plato which were not loving, but malicious. Aristoxenus, the founder of a school of Peripatetic biographers, had none too much love for his own Master, Aristotle.

It was Aristotle who, by his general teachings and methods, initiated the greatest activity in the collection and presentation in literary form of biographical details. It was on the

broadest collections and the most detailed study of individual cases that he based his theories of Politics and Poetry. Such an historical and antiquarian treatise as his *Constitution of Athens* has a large biographical element, and gives us strong character-sketches of Solon, Pisistratus, Themistocles, Aristides, Theramenes, and others. Between one hundred and three hundred similar *Polities* preceded and formed the basis for his *Politics*. So an indefinitely large number of biographical sketches of individual *Poets* preceded and formed the basis for his *Poetics*. These *Lives of Poets* are lost, though much of the material which composed them has undoubtedly come down to us in later compilations based upon them.

The followers and disciples of Aristotle, beginning with Theophrastus, and continuing through Aristoxenus, Phanias, and Neanthes, who are most important for the historical tradition at present under study, not only used the personal anecdote freely as the basis for philosophical discussion,—where the philosophical discussion was the main thing, rather than the truth of the personal anecdote,—but extended the literary form of the independent *Life* to all “Illustrious Men,” as well as philosophers and poets. This biography of the Peripatetic school had certain characteristic features which stand out distinctly, even though their work is known only in fragments. It did not hesitate to bring under its general method the lives of men of such early periods that there could be no authentic personal detail about them; in lieu of authentic detail, it was prone to accept as authentic all sorts of legend and invention without any critical sifting whatever; it even indulged freely in the invention of detail for the illustration of general traits of character assumed, and often descended to the invention of slanderous detail in the case of characters which were out of the range of its particular political or philosophical sympathies.

Besides these philosophical schools of biography, and largely indebted to their activity, there arose at Alexandria, especially during the third and second centuries B. C., a learned

or philological school of biography, whose *Lives* were based on material laboriously collected from the unlimited resources of the great Alexandrian library. The material thus collected was used chiefly to furnish compact introductions to literary works, and reappears in later and sometimes anonymous *Lives*, and in such compilations as those of Diogenes Laertius, and Suidas. The chronological histories of Eratosthenes, for instance, must have contained generous biographical material. Later Peripatetic philosophers also, like Hermippus and Satyrus, and historians like Idomeneus and Phylarchus, availed themselves of the biographical material collected by the learned grammarians of the Alexandrian school, in the composition of their *Lives* of illustrious men. They added the embellishments in which their school delighted, and gave attractive literary form to learned matter.

All this long succession of biographical work lay ready for the use of such late biographers as Nepos and Plutarch. It was the literary deposit of generations of artistic and learned labor. Not only had such biographical material as the older historians furnished been culled out and arranged in an order adapted to the limited *Lives* of particular men, but well-defined types of character had been established for most of the illustrious men whose *Lives* might be desired, and even the general form and structure of a biography had become established. There was a recognized technique of biography long before Plutarch, to the general features of which it can be seen that he conforms, at least in many of his *Lives*. Both the *Themistocles* and *Aristides* have this conventional form, which was, in most respects, a perfectly natural development. First comes Birth, Family, and Education; then the Type of Character; then such Deeds and Achievements, as best illustrate that type of character,—the character dominating the selection of deeds; and lastly the Death, Burial, Posterity, and Subsequent Influence. Even the rhetorical device of “comparison” between two characters is as old as Isocrates; Polybius and Posidonius compared and contrasted Greeks and Romans, though not in technical

biographies; Plutarch lifts the casual comparison into the dignity of an almost constant Epilogue. His "famous sayings," too, are not all of his own gathering. They were a standing feature of technical biography before he wrote.

In the cases of Themistocles and Aristides, Plutarch probably had accessible for his use a long line of biographies of these particular men, and especially a biography of Themistocles by Phanias, and one of Aristides by Idomeneus, in which much labor of compilation was spared him, but to which he adds generously from his own stores, and imparts — what is of the highest importance — his own spirit, so that though he follows their form and uses their material, he gives his own independent interpretation to the characters under study, often reverting, in support of his own interpretation, to earlier and more authoritative evidence than that furnished him by the biographies on which he chiefly relies. Malice and envy certainly have no place in his reconstruction of biographical material, however tolerant his attitude may be toward sensational or picturesque invention; and however unscientific his reconstruction of given material may be, it is often in the highest degree artistic.

Alphabetical List of Authorities cited by Plutarch in the *Themistocles*.

Acestodorus	XIII. 1	Neanthes	I. 2; XXIX. 4
Æschylus	XIV. 1	Phanias . . I. 2; VII. 4; XIII. 2;	XXVII. 3; XXIX. 4
Andocides	XXXII. 2	Phanodemus	XIII. 1
Ariston of Ceos	III. 2	Phylarchus	XXXII. 2
Aristophanes <i>Comicus</i> . . .	XIX. 3	Pindar	VIII. 2
Aristotle	X. 3	Plato	IV. 3; XXXII. 1
Charon of Lampsacus . .	XXVII. 1	Plato <i>Comicus</i>	XXXII. 3
Clidemus	X. 4	Simonides	I. 3; XV. 2
Clitarchus	XXVII. 1	Stesimbrotus II. 3; IV. 3; XXIV. 3	
Dinon of Colophon . .	XXVII. 1	Theophrastus	XXV. 1, 3
Diodorus the Topographer	XXXII. 3	Theopompus . . XIX. 1; XXV. 3;	XXXI. 2
Ephorus	XXVII. 1	Thucydides . . XXV. 1; XXVII. 1	
Eratosthenes	XXVII. 3	Timocreon of Rhodes	XXI.
Heracleides	XXVII. 1		
Herodotus VII. 3; XVII. 1; XXI. 1			

Alphabetical List of Authorities cited by Plutarch in the
Aristides.

Æschines the Socratic . . .	XXV. 6	Demetrius the Phalerean . .	I. 1, 5 ;
Æschylus	III. 3		V. 5 ; XXVII. 2, 3
Ariston of Ceos	II. 3	Herodotus	XVI. 1 ; XIX. 4
Aristotle (Pseudo-) . . .	XXVII. 2	Hieronymus the Rhodian	XXVII. 2
Aristoxenus the Musician	XXVII. 2	Idomeneus	I. 5 ; IV. 2 ; X. 5
Callisthenes	XXVII. 2	Panætius	I. 4 ; XXVII. 2
Clidemus	XIX. 3	Plato	XXV. 6
Craterus	XXVI. 1	Theophrastus	XXV. 2
Thucydides		XXIV. 3	

THEMISTOCLES

THEMISTOCLES

I. . . . BUT in the case of Themistocles, his family was too obscure to further his reputation. His father was Neocles, — no very conspicuous man at His family. Athens,—a Phrearrhian by deme, of the tribe Leontis; and on his mother's side he was an alien, as her epitaph testifies:—

“Abrotonon was I, and a woman of Thrace, yet I brought forth That great light of the Greeks,—know ! 't was Themistocles.”

Phanias, however, writes that the mother of Themistocles was not a Thracian, but a Carian woman, and that her name was not Abrotonon, but Euterpe. And Neanthes actually adds the name of her city in Caria,—Halicarnassus.

It was for the reason given, and because the aliens were wont to frequent Cynosarges,—this is a place outside the gates, a gymnasium of Heracles; for he too was not a legitimate god, but had something alien about him, from the fact that his mother was a mortal,—that Themistocles sought to induce certain well born youth to go out to Cynosarges and exercise with him; and by his success in this bit of cunning he is thought to have removed the distinction between aliens and legitimates.

However, it is clear that he was connected with the family of the Lycomidæ, for he caused the

chapel-shrine at Phlyxa, which belonged to the Lycomidæ and had been burned by the Barbarians, to be restored at his own costs and adorned with frescoes, as Simonides has stated.

II. However lowly his birth, it is agreed on all hands that while yet a boy he was impetuous, by nature sagacious, and by election enterprising and prone to public life. In times of relaxation and leisure, when absolved from his lessons, he would not play nor indulge his ease, as the rest of the boys did, but would be found composing and rehearsing to himself mock speeches. These speeches would be in accusation or defence of some boy or other.

2 Wherefore his teacher was wont to say to him: "My boy, thou wilt be nothing insignificant, but something great, of a surety, either for good or evil." Moreover, when he was set to study, those branches which aimed at the formation of character, or ministered to any gratification or grace of a liberal sort, he would learn reluctantly and sluggishly; and to all that was said for the cultivation of sagacity or practical efficiency he showed an indifference far beyond his years, as though he put his confidence in his natural gifts alone.

3 Thus it came about that, in after life, at entertainments of a so-called liberal and polite nature, when he was taunted by men of reputed culture, he was forced to defend himself rather rudely, saying that tuning the lyre and handling the harp were no accomplishments of his, but rather taking a city that was

small and inglorious and making it glorious and great.

And yet Stesimbrotus says that Themistocles was a pupil of Anaxagoras, and a disciple of Melissus the physicist ; but he is careless in his chronology. It was Pericles, a much younger man than Themistocles, whom Melissus opposed at the siege of Samos, and with whom Anaxagoras was intimate.

Rather, then, might one side with those who say ⁴ that Themistocles was a devotee of Mnesiphilus the Phrearrian, a man who was neither a rhetorician nor one of the so-called physical philosophers, but a cultivator of what was then called *sophia*, or wisdom, although it was really nothing more than cleverness in politics and practical sagacity. Mnesiphilus received this *sophia*, and handed it down, as though it were the doctrine of a sect, in unbroken tradition from Solon. His successors blended it with forensic arts, and shifted its application from public affairs to language, and were dubbed “sophists.” It was this man, then, to whom Themistocles resorted at the very beginning of his public life.

But in the first essays of his youth he was uneven ⁵ and unstable, since he gave his natural impulses free course, which, without due address and training, rush to violent extremes in the objects of their pursuit, and often degenerate ; as he himself in later life confessed, when he said that the wildest colts too made very good horses if only they got the proper breaking and training.

What some story-makers add to this, however, to ⁶

the effect that his father disinherited him, and his mother took her own life for very grief at her son's ill-fame, this I think is false. And, in just the opposite vein, there are some who say that his father fondly tried to divert him from public life, pointing out to him old triremes on the sea-shore, all wrecked and neglected, and claiming that the people treated their leaders in like fashion when these were past service.

III. Speedily, however, as it seems, and while he was still in all the ardor of youth, did public affairs ^{Entrance} into politics; ^{rivalry with} Aristides; ^{the "trophy of Miltiades."} lay their grasp upon Themistocles, and excessively did his impulse to win reputation get the mastery over him. Wherefore, from the very beginning, in his desire to be first, he boldly encountered the enmity of men who had power and were already first in the city, especially that of Aristides the son of Lysimachus, who was always his opponent.

And yet it is thought that his enmity with this man had an altogether puerile beginning. They were both lovers of the beautiful Stesilaüs, a native of Ceos, as Ariston the philosopher has recorded, and thenceforward they continued to be rivals in public life also.

² However, the dissimilarity in their lives and characters is likely to have increased their variance. Aristides was gentle by nature, and a conservative in character. He engaged in public life, not to win favor or reputation, but to secure the best results consistent with safety and righteousness, and so he

was compelled, since Themistocles stirred the people up to many novel enterprises and introduced great innovations, to oppose him often, and to take a firm stand against his increasing influence.

It is said, indeed, that Themistocles was so carried away by his desire for reputation, and such an ambitious lover of great deeds, that, though he was still a young man when the battle with the Barbarians at Marathon was fought and the generalship of Miltiades was in everybody's mouth, he was seen thereafter to be wrapped in his own thoughts for the most part, and was sleepless o' nights, and refused invitations to his customary drinking parties, and said to those who put wondering questions to him concerning his change of life that the trophy of Miltiades would not suffer him to sleep.

Now the rest of his countrymen thought that the defeat of the Barbarians at Marathon was the end of the war; but Themistocles thought it to be only the beginning of greater contests, and for these he anointed himself, as it were, to be the champion of all Hellas, and put his city into training, because, while it was yet afar off, he expected the evil that was to come.

IV. And so, in the first place, whereas the Athenians were wont to divide up among themselves the revenue coming from the silver mines at Laureum, he, and he alone, dared to come before the people with a motion that this division be given up, and that with these moneys triremes be constructed for the war against *Ægina*.

He converts
Athens into
a maritime
power.

2 This was the greatest war then raging in Hellas, and the islanders controlled the sea, owing to the number of their ships. Wherefore all the more easily did Themistocles carry his point, not by trying to terrify the citizens with dreadful pictures of Darius or the Persians,— these were too far away and inspired no very serious fear of their coming,— but by making opportune use of the bitter jealousy which they cherished toward Ægina in order to secure the armament he desired. The result was that with those moneys they built an hundred triremes, which actually fought at Salamis against Xerxes.

3 And after this, by luring the city on gradually and turning its progress toward the sea, claiming that with their infantry they were no match even for their nearest neighbors, but that with the power they would get from their ships they could not only repel the Barbarians but also take the lead in Hellas, he made them, instead of “steadfast hoplites,” — to quote Plato’s words, — sea-tossed mariners, and brought down upon himself this accusation: “Themistocles, forsooth, robbed his fellow-citizens of spear and shield, and degraded the people of Athens to the rowing-pad and the oar.” And this he accomplished in triumph over the public opposition of Miltiades, as Stesimbrotus relates.

4 Now, whether by accomplishing this he did injury to the integrity and purity of public life or not, let the philosopher rather investigate. But that the salvation which the Hellenes achieved at that time came from the sea, and that it was those very triremes

which restored again the fallen city of Athens, Xerxes himself bore witness, not to speak of other proofs. For though his infantry remained intact, he took to flight after the defeat of his ships, because he thought he was not a match for the Hellenes, and he left Mardonius behind, as it seems to me, rather to obstruct their pursuit than to subdue them.

V. Some say that Themistocles was an eager money-maker because of his liberality; for since he was fond of entertaining, and lavished money splendidly on his guests, he required a generous budget. Others, on the contrary, denounce his great stinginess and parsimony, claiming that he used to sell the very food sent in to him as a gift.

Anecdotes
illustrative
of his char-
acter and
power.

When Philides the horse-breeder was asked by him for a colt and would n't give it, Themistocles threatened speedily to make his house a wooden horse; thereby darkly intimating that he would stir up accusations against him in his own family, and lawsuits between the man and those of his own household.

In his ambition he surpassed all men. For instance,² while he was still young and obscure, he prevailed upon Epicles of Hermione, a harpist who was eagerly sought after by the Athenians, to practise at his house, because he was ambitious that many should seek out his dwelling and come often to see him.

Again, on going to Olympia, he tried to rival³ Cimon in his banquets and booths and other brilliant appointments, so that he displeased the Hellenes. For Cimon was young and of a great house, and they

thought they must allow him in such extravagances; but Themistocles had not yet become famous, and was thought to be seeking to elevate himself unduly without adequate means, and so got the credit of ostentation.

4 And still again, as *Choregus*, or theatrical manager, he won a victory with tragedies, although even at that early time this contest was conducted with great eagerness and ambition, and set up a tablet commemorating his victory with the following inscription: "Themistocles the Phrearrhian was *Choregus*; Phrynicus was Poet; Adeimantus was *Archon*."

However, he was on good terms with the common folk, partly because he could call off-hand the name of every citizen, and partly because he rendered the service of a safe and impartial arbitrator in cases of private obligation and settlement out of court; and so he once said to Simonides of Ceos, who had made an improper request from him when he was magistrate: "You would not be a good poet if you should sing contrary to the measure; nor I a clever magistrate if I should show favor contrary to the law."

5 And once again he banteringly said to Simonides that it was nonsense for him to abuse the Corinthians, who dwelt in a great and fair city, while he had portrait figures made of himself, who was of such an ugly countenance.

And so he grew in power, and pleased the common folk, and finally headed a successful faction and got Aristides removed by ostracism.

VI. At last, when the Mede was descending upon Hellas and the Athenians were deliberating who should be their general, all the rest, they say, voluntarily renounced their claims to the generalship, so panic-stricken were they at the danger; but Epicydes, the son of Euphemides, a popular leader who was powerful in speech but effeminate in spirit and susceptible to bribes, set out to get the office, and was likely to prevail in the election; so Themistocles, fearing lest matters should go to utter ruin in case the leadership fell to such a man, bribed and bought off the ambition of Epicydes.

His conduct
on the
approach of
the Persians.

Praise is given his treatment of the linguist in the company of those who were sent by the King to demand earth and water as tokens of submission: this interpreter he caused to be arrested, and had him put to death by special decree, because he dared to prostitute the speech of Hellas to barbarian stipulations.

Also to his treatment of Arthmius of Zeleia: on motion of Themistocles this man was entered on the list of the proscribed, with his children and his family, because he brought the gold of the Medes and offered it to the Hellenes.

But the greatest of all his achievements was his putting a stop to Hellenic wars, and reconciling Hellenic cities with one another, persuading them to postpone their mutual hatreds because of the foreign war. To which end, they say, Cheileos the Arcadian most seconded his efforts.

VII. On assuming the command, he straightway went to work to embark the citizens on their triremes, and tried to persuade them to leave their city behind them and go as far as possible away from Hellas to meet the Barbarian by sea. But many opposed this plan, and so he led forth a large army to the vale of Tempe, along with the Lacedæmonians, in order to make a stand there in defence of Thessaly, which was not yet at that time supposed to be medising. But soon the army came back from this position without accomplishing anything, the Thessalians went over to the side of the King, and everything was medising as far as Bœotia, so that at last the Athenians were more kindly disposed to the naval policy of Themistocles, and he was sent with a fleet to Artemisium, to watch the narrows.

Themistocles at Tempe; and at Artemisium before the battles.

2 It was at this place that the Hellenes urged Eurybiades and the Lacedæmonians to take the lead, but the Athenians, since in the number of their ships they surpassed all the rest put together, disdained to follow others,—a peril which Themistocles at once comprehended. He surrendered his own command to Eurybiades, and tried to mollify the Athenians with the promise that if they would show themselves brave men in the war, he would induce the Hellenes to yield a willing obedience to them thereafter. Wherefore he is thought to have been the man most instrumental in achieving the salvation of Hellas, and foremost in leading the Athenians up to the high repute of surpassing their foes in valor and their allies in magnanimity.

Now Eurybiades, on the arrival of the barbarian ³ armament at Aphetæ, was terrified at the number of ships that faced him, and, learning that two hundred ships more were sailing around above Sciathus to cut off his retreat, desired to proceed by the shortest route down into Hellas, to get into touch with Peloponnesus and encompass his fleet with his infantry forces there, because he thought the power of the King altogether invincible by sea. Therefore the Eubœans, fearing lest the Hellenes abandon them to their fate, held secret conference with Themistocles, and sent Pelagon to him with large sums of money. This money he took, as Herodotus relates, and gave to Eurybiades.

Meeting with most opposition among his fellow-⁴ citizens from Architeles, who was captain on the sacred state-galley, and who, because he had no money to pay the wages of his sailors, was eager to sail off home, Themistocles incited his crew all the more against him, so that they made a rush upon him and snatched away his dinner. Then, while Architeles was feeling dejected and indignant over this, Themistocles sent him a dinner of bread and meat in a box at the bottom of which he had put a talent of silver, and bade him dine without delay, and on the morrow satisfy his crew; otherwise he said he would denounce him publicly as the receiver of money from the enemy. At any rate, such is the story of Phanias the Lesbian.

VIII. The battles which were fought at that time with the ships of the Barbarians in the narrows

were not decisive of the main issue, it is true, but they were of the greatest service to the Hellenes in giving them experience, since they were thus taught by actual achievements in the face of danger that neither multitudes of ships nor brilliantly decorated figure-heads nor boastful shouts or barbarous battle-hymns have any terror for men who know how to come to close quarters and dare to fight there; but that they must despise all such things, rush upon the very persons of their foes, grapple with them, and fight it out to the bitter end.

2 Of this Pindar seems to have been well aware when he said of the battle of Artemisium :

“Where Athenians’ valiant sons set in radiance eternal
Liberty’s corner-stone.”

For verily the foundation of victory is courage.

Artemisium is a part of Eubœa above Hestiæa, — a sea-beach stretching away to the north, — and just about opposite to it lies Olizon, in the territory once subject to Philoctetes. It has a small temple of Artemis surnamed *Proseœa*, which is surrounded by trees and enclosed by upright slabs of white marble. This stone, when you rub it with your hand, gives off the color and the odor of saffron.

3 On one of these slabs the following elegy was inscribed :

“Nations of all sorts of men from Asia’s boundaries coming,
Sons of the Athenians once, here on this arm of the sea,
Whelmed in a battle of ships, and the host of the Medes was
destroyed;
These are the tokens thereof, built for the Maid Artemis.”

The sea-fights off Artemisium; their moral lessons; their monuments.

And a place is pointed out on the shore, with sea sand all about it, which supplies from its depths a dark ashen powder, apparently the product of fire, and here they are thought to have burned their wrecks and dead bodies.

IX. However, when they learned by messenger from Thermopylæ to Artemisium that Leonidas was slain and that Xerxes was master of the pass, they withdrew further down into Hellas, the Athenians bringing up the extreme rear because of their valor, and greatly elated by their achievements.

As Themistocles sailed along the coasts, wherever he saw places at which the enemy must necessarily put in for shelter and supplies, he inscribed conspicuous writings on stones, some of which he found to his hand there by chance, and some he himself caused to be set near the inviting anchorages and watering places. In these writings he solemnly enjoined upon the Ionians, if it were possible, to come over to the side of the Hellenes, who were their ancestors, and who were risking all in behalf of their freedom; but if they could not do this, to damage the barbarian cause in battle, and institute confusion among them. By this means he hoped either to fetch the Ionians over to his side, or to confound them by bringing the Barbarians into suspicion of them.

Although Xerxes had made a raid up through² Doris into Phocis, and was burning the cities of the Phocians, the Hellenes gave them no succor. The

Retreat of
the Greeks;
cunning de-
vice of The-
mistocles for
detaching
the Ionian
Greeks from
the Persians;
despondency
of the Athe-
nians at the
abandon-
ment of
Attica.

Athenians, it is true, begged them to go up into Boeotia against the enemy, and make a stand there in defence of Attica, as they themselves had gone up by sea to Artemisium in defence of others. But no one listened to their appeals. All clung fast to the Peloponnesus, and were eager to collect all the forces inside the Isthmus, and went to running a wall through the Isthmus from sea to sea. Then the Athenians were seized alike with rage at this betrayal, and with sullen dejection at their utter isolation. Of fighting alone with an army of so many myriads they could not seriously think ; and as for the only thing left them to do in their emergency, namely, to give up their city and stick to their ships, most of them were distressed at the thought, saying that they neither wanted victory nor understood what safety could mean if they abandoned to the enemy the shrines of their gods and the sepulchres of their fathers.

X. Then indeed it was that Themistocles, despairing of bringing the multitude over to his views by any human reasonings, set up machinery, as it were, to introduce the gods to them, as a theatrical manager would for a tragedy, and brought to bear upon them signs from heaven and oracles. As a sign from heaven he took the behavior of the serpent, which is held to have disappeared about that time from the sacred enclosure on the Acropolis. When the priests found that the daily offerings made to it were left whole and untouched, they proclaimed to the multitude, —

Themistocles prevails upon the Athenians to abandon their city and take to their ships.

Themistocles putting the story into their mouths,— that the goddess had abandoned her city and was showing them their way to the sea.

Moreover, with the well known oracle he tried 2 again to win the people over to his views, saying that its “wooden wall” meant nothing else than their fleet; and that the god in this oracle called Salamis “divine,” not “dreadful” nor “cruel,” for the very reason that the island would sometime give its name to a great piece of good fortune for the Hellenes.

At last his opinion prevailed, and so he introduced a 3 bill providing that the city be intrusted for safe keeping “to Athena the patroness of Athens,” but that all the men of military age embark on the triremes, after finding for their children, wives and servants such safety as each best could. On the passage of this bill, most of the Athenians bestowed their children and wives in Troezen, where the Troezenians very eagerly welcomed them. They actually voted to support them at the public cost, allowing two obols daily to each family, and to permit the boys to pluck of the vintage fruit everywhere, and besides to hire teachers for them. The bill was introduced by a man whose name was Nicagoras.

Since the Athenians had no public moneys on hand, according to Aristotle it was the senate of Areiopagus which provided each of the men who embarked with eight drachmas, and so was most instrumental in manning the triremes; but Clidemus represents this 4 too as the result of an artifice of Themistocles. He says that when the Athenians were going down to

the Piraeus and abandoning their city, the Gorgon's head was lost from the image of the goddess ; and then Themistocles, pretending to search for it, and ransacking everything, thereby discovered an abundance of money hidden away in the baggage, which had only to be confiscated, and the crews of the ships were well provided with rations and wages.

5 When the entire city was thus putting out to sea, the sight provoked pity in some, and in others astonishment at the hardihood of the step ; for they were sending off their families in one direction, while they themselves, unmoved by the lamentations and tears and embraces of their loved ones, were crossing over to the island where the enemy was to be fought. Besides, those who were left behind on account of their great age provoked much pity too, and much affecting fondness was shown by the tame domestic animals, which ran along with yearning cries of distress by the side of their masters as they embarked.

A story is told of one of these, the dog of Xanthippus the father of Pericles, how he could not endure to be abandoned by his master, and so sprang into the sea, swam across the strait by the side of his master's trireme, and staggered out on Salamis, only to faint and die straightway. They say that the spot which is pointed out to this day as "Dog's Mound" is his tomb.

XI. These were surely great achievements of Themistocles, but there was a greater still to come. When he saw that the citizens yearned for Aristides, and feared lest out of wrath he join himself to the

Barbarian and so subvert the cause of Hellas,— he had been ostracized before the war and suffered political defeat at the hands of Themistocles,— he introduced a bill providing that those who had been removed for a time be permitted to return home and devote their best powers to the service of Hellas along with the other citizens.

He effects
the recall of
Aristides;
his mem-
orable say-
ings in the
council of
war.

When Eurybiades, who had the command of the fleet on account of the superior claims of Sparta, but who was faint-hearted in time of danger, wished to hoist sail and make for the Isthmus, where the infantry also of the Peloponnesians had been assembled, it was Themistocles who spoke against it, and it was then, they say, that those memorable sayings of his were uttered.

When Eurybiades said to him, “Themistocles, at the games those who make false starts get a caning,” “Yes,” said Themistocles, “but those who lag behind get no crown.”

And when Eurybiades lifted up his staff as though to smite him, Themistocles said: “Smite, but hear me.” Then Eurybiades was struck with admiration at his calmness, and bade him speak, and Themistocles tried to bring him back to his own position.

But on a certain one saying that a man without a city had no business to advise men who still had ancestral cities to abandon and betray them, Themistocles addressed his speech with emphasis to him, saying: “It is true, thou wretch, that we have left behind us our houses and our city walls, not deeming it meet

for the sake of such soulless things to be in subjection ; but we still have a city, the greatest in Hellas, our two hundred triremes, which now are ready to aid you if you choose to be saved by them ; but if you go off and betray us for the second time, straightway many a Hellene will learn that the Athenians have won for themselves a city that is free and a territory that is far better than the one they cast aside.” When Themistocles said this, Eurybiades saw its drift, and was seized with fear lest the Athenians go away and abandon him.

And again, when the Eretrian tried to argue somewhat against him, “Aha !” said he, “what argument can ye make about war, who, like the cuttle-fish, have a long pouch in the place where your heart ought to be ?”

XII. Some tell the story that while Themistocles was thus speaking from off the deck of his ship, an owl was seen to fly through the fleet from the right, and alight in his rigging ; wherefore his hearers espoused his opinion right eagerly and prepared to do battle with their ships.

The stratagem by which Themistocles makes the Greeks fight at Salamis ; arrival and co-operation of Aristides. But soon the enemy’s armament beset the coast of Attica down to the haven of Phalerum, so as to hide from view the neighboring shores ; then the King in person with his infantry came down to the sea, so that he could be seen with all his hosts ; and presently, in view of this junction of hostile forces, the words of Themistocles ebbed out of the minds of the Hellenes, and the Peloponnesians again

turned their eyes wistfully toward the Isthmus and were vexed if any one spoke of any other course ; nay, they actually decided to withdraw from their position in the night, and orders for the voyage were issued to the pilots. Such was the crisis when Themistocles, distressed to think that the Hellenes should abandon the advantages to be had from the narrowness of the straits where they lay united, and break up into detachments by cities, planned and concocted the famous Sicinnus-affair.

This Sicinnus was of Persian stock, a prisoner ² of war, but devoted to Themistocles, and the paedagogue of his children. This man was sent to Xerxes secretly with orders to say : “ Themistocles the Athenian general elects the King’s cause, and is the first one to announce to him that the Hellenes are trying to slip away, and urgently bids him not to suffer them to escape, but, while they are in confusion and separated from their infantry, to set upon them and destroy their naval power.” Xerxes received this as the message of one who wished him well, and was delighted, and at once issued positive orders to the captains of his ships to man the main body of the fleet at their leisure, but with two hundred ships to put out to sea at once, and encompass the strait round about on every side, including the islands in their line of blockade, that not one of the enemy might escape.

While this was going on, Aristides the son of Lysimachus, who was the first to perceive it, came to the tent of Themistocles, who was no friend of his, nay, through whom he had even been ostracized, as I have

said; and when Themistocles came forth from the tent, he told him how the enemy surrounded them. Themistocles, knowing the tried nobility of the man, and filled with admiration for his coming at that time, told him all about the Sicinnus-matter, and besought him to join in this desperate attempt to keep the Hellenes where they were,—admitting that he had the greater influence with them,—in order that they might make their sea-fight in the narrows. Aristides, accordingly, after bestowing praise upon Themistocles for his stratagem, went round to the other generals and trierarchs inciting them on to battle.

And while they were still incredulous in spite of all, a Tenian trireme appeared, a deserter from the enemy, in command of Panætius, and told how the enemy surrounded them, so that with a courage born of necessity the Hellenes set out to confront the danger.

XIII. At break of day Xerxes was seated on a high place, and overlooking the disposition of his ar-

The throne of Xerxes; the sacrifice of Themistocles. ment. This place was, according to Phanodemus, above the Heracleum, where only a narrow passage separates the island from Attica; but according to Acestodorus, it was in the border land of Megara, above the so-called “Horns.” Here a gilded throne had been set for him at his command, and many secretaries stationed near at hand, whose task it was to make due record of all that was done in the battle.

2 But Themistocles was sacrificing alongside the admiral’s trireme. There three prisoners of war

were brought to him, of visage most beautiful to behold, conspicuously adorned with raiment and with gold. They were said to be the sons of Sandaucé, the King's sister, and Artaÿctus. When Euphrantides the seer caught sight of them, since at one and that same moment a great and glaring flame shot up from the sacrificial victims and a sneeze gave forth its good omen on the right, he clasped Themistocles by the hand and bade him consecrate the youths, and sacrifice them all to Dionysus Carnivorous, with prayers of supplication; for on this wise would the Hellenes have a saving victory. Themistocles was terrified, feeling that the word of the seer was monstrous and shocking; but the multitude, who, as is wont to be the case in great struggles and severe crises, looked for safety rather from unreasonable than from reasonable measures, invoked the god with one voice, dragged the prisoners to the altar, and compelled the fulfilment of the sacrifice as the seer commanded. At any rate, this is what Phanias the Lesbian says, and he was a philosopher, and well acquainted with historical literature.

XIV. As regards the number of the barbarian ships, Æschylus the poet, in his tragedy of "The Persians," as though from personal and positive knowledge, says this:

Numbers of
the fleets;
opening of
the battle.

"But Xerxes, and I surely know, had a thousand ships
In number under him; those of surpassing speed
Were twice five score beside and seven; so stands the count."

Though the Attic ships were only one hundred and eighty in number, still each had eighteen men to

fight upon the decks, of whom four were archers and the rest men-at-arms.

2 Themistocles is thought to have divined the best time for fighting with no less success than the best place, inasmuch as he took care not to send his triremes bow on against the barbarian vessels until the hour of the day had come which always brought the breeze fresh from the sea and a current rolling through the strait. This breeze wrought no harm to the Hellenic ships, since they lay low in the water and were rather small; but for the barbarian ships, with their towering sterns and lofty decks and sluggish movements in getting under way, it was fatal, since it smote them and slewed them round broadside to the Hellenes, who set upon them sharply, keeping their eyes on Themistocles, because they thought he saw best what was to be done, and because confronting him was the admiral of Xerxes, Ariamenes, with a great ship, and just as if he were on a city-wall he kept shooting arrows and javelins, — brave man that he was, by far the strongest and justest of the King's brothers.

3 It was against him that Ameinias the Deceleian and Socles the Pæanian bore down, — they being together on one ship, — and as the two ships struck each other bow on, crashed together, and hung fast by their bronze beaks, he tried to board their trireme; but they faced him, smote him with their spears, and hurled him into the sea. His body, as it drifted about with other wreckage, was recognized by Artemisia, and she had it carried to Xerxes.

XV. At this stage of the struggle they say that a great light flamed out from Eleusis, and an echoing cry filled the Thriasian plain down to the sea, as of multitudes of men together conducting the mystic Iacchus in procession. Then from the shouting throng a cloud seemed to lift itself slowly from the earth, pass out seawards, and settle down upon the triremes.

Divine portents; victory of the Greeks.

Others fancied they saw apparitions and shapes of armed men from *Ægina* with their hands stretched out to protect the Hellenic triremes. These, they conjectured, were the *Æacidæ*, who had been prayerfully invoked before the battle to come to their aid.

Now the first man to capture an enemy's ship was ² *Lycomedes*, an Athenian captain, who cut off its figure-head and dedicated it to Apollo *Daphnephoros* at Phlya. Then the rest, put on an equality in numbers with their foes, because the Barbarians had to attack them by detachments in the narrow strait and so ran foul of one another, routed them, though they resisted till the evening drew on, and thus "bore away," as Simonides says, "that fair and notorious victory, than which no more brilliant exploit was ever performed upon the sea, either by Hellenes or Barbarians, through the manly valor and common ardor of all who fought their ships, but through the clever judgment of Themistocles."

XVI. After the sea-fight, Xerxes, still furious at his failure, undertook to carry moles out into the sea on which he could lead his infantry across to Salamis against the Hellenes, damming up the in-

tervening strait. But Themistocles, merely by way of sounding Aristides, proposed, as though he were in earnest, to sail with the fleet to the Hellespont and break the span of boats there, "in order," said he, "that we may capture Asia in Europe." Aristides, however, was displeased with the scheme and said: "Now indeed the Barbarian with whom we have fought consults his ease and pleasure, but should we shut up in Hellas and bring under fearful compulsion a man who is lord of such vast forces, he will no longer sit under a golden parasol to view the spectacle of the battle at his ease, but he will dare all things, and, superintending everything in person, because of his peril, will rectify his previous remissness and take better counsel for the highest issues thus at stake. We must not, then," said he, "tear down the bridge that is already there, Themistocles, nay rather we must build another alongside it, if that were possible, and cast the fellow out of Europe in a hurry." "Well, then," said Themistocles, "if that is what is thought for the best, it is high time for us all to be studying and inventing a way to get him out of Hellas by the speediest route."

As soon as this policy had been adopted, he sent a certain royal eunuch whom he discovered among the prisoners of war, by name Arnaces, with orders to tell the King that the Hellenes had decided, since their fleet now controlled the sea, to sail up into the Hellespont, where the shores were spanned, and destroy the bridge; but that Themistocles, out of

His strata-
gem for
securing
the retreat
of Xerxes
after Sal-
amis.

regard for the King, urged him to hasten into home waters and fetch his forces across; he himself, he said, would cause the allies all sorts of delays and postponements in their pursuit. No sooner did the Barbarian hear this than he was seized with exceeding fear and speedily began his retreat. This thoughtful prudence on the part of Themistocles and Aristides was afterwards justified by the campaign with Mardonius, since, although they fought at Platæa with the merest fraction of the armies of Xerxes, they yet staked their all upon the issue.

XVII. Among the cities, now, Herodotus says that Ægina bore away the prize of valor; but among individuals, all virtually awarded the first place to Themistocles, though their envy made them unwilling to do this directly. For when the generals withdrew to the Isthmus and solemnly voted on this question, taking their ballots from the very altar of the god there, each one declared for himself as first in valor, but for Themistocles as second after himself.

Public honors paid to Themistocles after Salamis.

Then the Lacedæmonians brought him down to Sparta, and while they gave Eurybiades the prize for valor, to him they gave one for wisdom,—a crown of olive in each case,—and they presented him with the best chariot there was in the city, and sent three hundred picked youth along with him to serve as his escort to the boundary.

And it is said that when the next Olympic festival was celebrated, and Themistocles entered the stadium, the audience neglected the contestants all day long

to gaze on him, and pointed him out with admiring applause to visiting strangers, so that he too was delighted, and confessed to his friends that he was now reaping in full measure the harvest of his toils in behalf of Hellas.

XVIII. And indeed he was by nature very fond of honor, if we may judge from his memorable sayings and doings. When, for example, the city had chosen him to be admiral, he would not perform a bit of public or private business at its proper time, but would postpone every current duty to the day on which he was to set sail, in order that then, because he did many things all at once and had meetings with all sorts of men, he might be thought to be some great personage and very powerful.

His memorable sayings and doings.

Surveying once the dead bodies of the Barbarians which had been cast up along the sea, he saw that they were decked with golden bracelets and collars, and yet passed on by them himself, but to a friend who followed he pointed them out and said : “ Help thyself, thou art not Themistocles.”

2 Again, to one who had once been a beauty, Antiphates, and who had at that time treated him disdainfully, but afterwards courted him because of the reputation he had got, “ Young man,” said he, “ 't is late, 't is true, but both of us have come to our senses.”

Also he used to say of the Athenians that they did not really honor and admire him for himself, but treated him for all the world like a plane-tree, run-

ning under his branches for shelter when it stormed, but when they had fair weather all about them, plucking and docking him.

And when he was told by the Seriphian that it was not due to himself that he had got reputation, but to his city, "True," said he, "but neither should I, had I been a Seriphian, have achieved reputation, nor wouldest thou, hadst thou been an Athenian."

Again, when one of his fellow-generals who thought he had done some vast service to the city, grew bold with Themistocles, and went to comparing his own services with his, "With the Festival-day," said he, "the Day After once began a contention, saying: 'Thou art full of occupations and wearisome, but when I come, all enjoy at their leisure what has been richly provided beforehand'; to which the Festival-day replied: 'True, but had I not come first, thou hadst not come at all.' So now," said he, "had I not come at that day of Salamis, where wouldest thou and thy colleagues be now?"

Of his son, who lorded it over his mother, and through her over himself, he said, jestingly, that the boy was the most powerful of all the Hellenes; for the Hellenes were commanded by the Athenians, the Athenians by himself, himself by the boy's mother, and the mother by her boy.

Again, with the desire to be rather different from everybody else, when he offered a certain estate for sale, he bade proclamation to be made that it had an excellent neighbor into the bargain.

Of two suitors for his daughter's hand he chose the

likely man in preference to the rich man, saying that he wanted a man without money rather than money without a man.

Such were his striking sayings.

XIX. After the great achievements now described, he straightway undertook to rebuild and fortify the

He rebuilds
the walls
of Athens
in spite of
Spartan
protest, and
fortifies the
Piræus.

city,—as Theopompus relates, by bribing the Spartan Ephors not to oppose the project; but as the majority say, by hoodwinking them. He came with this object to Sparta, ostensibly on an embassy, and when the Spartans brought up the charge that the

Athenians were fortifying their city, and Polyarchus was sent expressly from Ægina with the same accusation, he denied that it was so, and bade them send men to Athens to see for themselves, not only because this delay would secure time for the building of the wall, but also because he wished the Athenians to hold these envoys as hostages for his own person. And this was what actually happened. When the Lacedæmonians found out the truth they did him no harm, but concealed their displeasure and sent him away.

2 After this he equipped the Piræus, because he had noticed the favorable shape of its harbors, and wished to attach the whole city to the sea; thus in a certain manner counteracting the policies of the ancient Athenian kings. For they, as it is said, in their efforts to draw the citizens away from the sea and accustom them to live not by navigation but by agriculture, disseminated the story about Athena,

how when Poseidon was contending with her for possession of the country, she displayed the sacred olive-tree of the Acropolis to the judges and so won the day.

But Themistocles did not, as Aristophanes the comic poet says, “knead the Piræus on to the city,” nay, he suspended the city from the Piræus, and the land from the sea. And so it was that he increased the privileges of the common people as against the nobles, and filled them with boldness, since the controlling power came now into the hands of skippers and boatswains and pilots. Therefore it was, too, that the bema in Pnyx, which had stood so as to look off toward the sea, was afterwards turned by the thirty tyrants so as to look in-land, because they thought maritime empire was the mother of democracy, and that oligarchy was less distasteful to tillers of the soil.

XX. But Themistocles cherished yet greater designs even for securing the naval supremacy. When the squadron of the Hellenes, after the departure of Xerxes, had put in at ^{His incen-} ^{diary “strat-} ^{agem;” his} ^{national} ^{politics.} *Pagæ* and was wintering there, he made a harangue before the Athenians, in which he said that he had a certain scheme in mind which would be useful and salutary for them, but which could not be broached in public. So the Athenians bade him impart it to Aristides alone, and if he should approve of it, to put it into execution. Themistocles accordingly told Aristides that he purposed to burn the fleet of the Hellenes where it lay;

but Aristides addressed the people, and said of the scheme which Themistocles purposed to carry out, that none could be either more advantageous or more iniquitous. The Athenians therefore ordered Themistocles to give it up.

2 At the Amphictyonic or Holy Alliance conventions, the Lacedæmonians introduced motions that all cities be excluded from the Alliance which had not taken part in fighting against the Mede. So Themistocles, fearing lest, if they should succeed in excluding the Thessalians and the Argives and the Thebans too from the convention, they would control the votes completely and carry through their own wishes, spoke in behalf of the protesting cities, and changed the sentiments of the delegates by showing that only thirty-one cities had taken part in the war, and that the most of these were altogether small; it would be intolerable then if the rest of Hellas should be excluded and the convention be at the mercy of the two or three largest cities.

It was for this reason particularly that he became obnoxious to the Lacedæmonians, and they therefore tried to advance Cimon in public favor, making him the political rival of Themistocles.

XXI. He made himself hateful to the allies also, by sailing round to the islands and trying to exact money from them. When, for instance, he demanded money of the Andrians, Herodotus says he made a speech to them and got reply as follows: he said he came escorting two gods, Persuasion and Compulsion; and they re-

His extortions; Timotheus' venomous songs.

plied that they already had two great gods, Penury and Powerlessness, who hindered them from giving him money.

Timocreon, the lyric poet of Rhodes, assailed The-² mistocles very bitterly in a song, to the effect that for bribes he had secured the restoration of other exiles, but had abandoned him, though a host and a friend, and all for money. The song runs thus:

“ Come, if thou praisest Pausanias, or thou Xanthippus,
Or thou Leutichidas, then I shall praise Aristides,
The one best man of all
To come from sacred Athens; since Leto loathes Themistocles,
“ The liar, cheat, and traitor, who, though Timocreon was his host,
By knavish moneys was induced not to bring him back
Into his native Ialyssos,
But took three talents of silver and went cruising off, — to
perdition !
“ Restoring some exiles unjustly, chasing some away, and slaying
some,
Gorged with moneys; yet at the Isthmus he played ridiculous
host with the stale meats set before his guests;
Who ate thereof and prayed heaven ‘no happy return of the day
for Themistocles!’ ”

Much more wanton and extravagant was the rail-³ lery which Timocreon indulged in against Themistocles after the latter's own exile and condemnation. Then he composed the song beginning:

“ O Muse, grant that this song
Be famed throughout all Hellas,
As it is meet and just.”

It is said that Timocreon was sent into exile on a charge of medising, and that Themistocles concurred in the vote of condemnation. Accordingly, when

Themistocles also was accused of medising, Timocreon composed these lines upon him :

“ Not Timocreon alone, then, made compacts with the Medes,
But there are other wretches too ; not I alone am brushless,
There are other foxes too.”

XXII. And at last, when even his fellow-citizens were led by their jealousy of his greatness to welcome His growing such slanders against him, he was forced to ^{unpopularity,} allude to his own achievements when he ^{and his ostracism.} addressed the assembly, till he became tiresome thereby, and he once said to the malcontents : “ Why are ye vexed that the same men should often benefit you ? ”

He offended the multitude also by building the temple of Artemis, whom he surnamed *Aristoboulé*, or Best Counsellor, intimating thus that it was he who had given the best counsel to the city and to the Hellenes. This temple he established near his house in Melité, where now the public officers cast out the bodies of those who have been put to death, and carry forth the garments and the nooses of those who have ² despatched themselves by hanging. A small portrait statue of Themistocles stood in this temple of *Aristoboulé* down to my time, from which he appears to have been a man not only of heroic spirit, but also of heroic presence.

Well, then, they visited him with ostracism, curtailing his dignity and pre-eminence, as they were wont to do in the case of all whom they thought to have oppressive power, and to be incommensurate with true democratic equality. For ostracism was not a



A THEMISTOCLES-OSTRAKON

penalty, but a way of expression and a means of alleviation for that jealousy which delights to humble the eminent, breathing out its malice into this disfranchisement.

XXIII. After he had been thus banished from the city, and while he was sojourning at Argos, circumstances connected with the death of Pausanias gave his enemies at Athens ground for proceeding against him. The one who actually brought in the indictment against him for treason was Leobotes the son of Alcmeon, of the deme Agraulé, but the Spartans supported him in the accusation. Pausanias, while engaged in his grand scheme of treachery, at first kept it concealed from Themistocles; but when he saw him thus banished from his state and in great bitterness of spirit, he made bold to invite him into partnership in his own undertakings, showing him a letter he had received from the King, and inciting him against the Hellenes as a base and thankless people. Themistocles rejected the solicitation of Pausanias, and utterly refused the proffered partnership; and yet he disclosed the propositions to no one, nor did he even give information of the treacherous scheme, because he expected either that Pausanias would give it up of his own accord, or that in some other way he would be found out, since he was so irrationally grasping after such strange and desperate objects.

And so it was that, when Pausanias had been put to death, certain letters and documents regarding these matters were discovered which cast suspicion on The-

mистocles. Both the Lacedæmonians cried him down, and his envious fellow-citizens denounced him, though he was not present to plead his cause, but defended himself in writing, making particular use of earlier accusations brought against him. Since he was once slanderously accused by his enemies before his fellow-citizens,—so he wrote,—as one who ever sought to rule, but had no natural bent nor even the desire to be ruled, he could never have sold himself with Hellas to Barbarians and foemen. The people, however, were overpersuaded by his accusers, and sent men with orders to arrest him and bring him up in custody to stand trial before the Congress of Hellenes.

XXIV. But he heard of this in advance, and crossed over to Corcyra, where he had been recognized as public benefactor of the city. For he had served as arbiter in a dispute between them and the Corinthians, and settled the quarrel by deciding that the Corinthians should pay an indemnity of twenty talents, and administer Leucas as a common colony of both cities.

Flight to Corcyra and Epirus. 2 Thence he fled to Epirus, and being pursued by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, he threw himself upon grievous and desperate chances of escape by taking refuge with Admetus, who was king of the Molossians, and who, since he had once asked some favor of the Athenians and had been insultingly refused it by Themistocles, then at the height of his political influence, was angry with him ever after,

and made it plain that he would take vengeance on him if he caught him. But in the desperate fortune of that time Themistocles was more afraid of kindred and recent jealousy than of an anger that was of long standing and royal, and promptly cast himself upon the king's mercy, making himself the suppliant of Admetus in a way quite peculiar and extraordinary. That is to say, he took the young son of the king in his arms and threw himself down at the hearth; a form of supplication which the Molossians regarded as most sacred, and as almost the only one that might not be refused.

Some, it is true, say that it was Phthia, the wife³ of the king, who suggested this form of supplication to Themistocles, and that she seated her son on the hearth with him; and certain others that Admetus himself, in order that he might give a religious sanction to the necessity that was upon him of not surrendering the man, arranged beforehand and solemnly rehearsed with him the supplication scene.

Thither his wife and children were privily removed from Athens and sent to him by Epicrates of the deme Acharnæ, who, for this deed, was afterwards convicted by Cimon and put to death, as Stesimbrotus relates. Then, some how or other, Stesimbrotus forgets this, or makes Themistocles forget it, and says he sailed to Sicily and demanded from Hiero the tyrant the hand of his daughter in marriage, promising as an incentive that he would make the Hellenes subject to his sway; but that Hiero repulsed him, and so he set sail for Asia.

XXV. But it is not likely that this was so. For Theophrastus, in his work "On Royalty," tells how, ^{Escape to} when Hiero sent horses to compete at Olympia, and set up a sort of booth there with very costly decorations, Themistocles made a speech among the assembled Hellenes, urging them to tear down the booth of the tyrant and prevent his horses from competing.

2 Thucydides says that he made his way across the country to the sea, and set sail from Pydna, no one of the passengers knowing who he was until, when the vessel had been carried by a storm to Naxos, to which the Athenians at that time were laying siege, he was terrified, and disclosed himself to the master and the captain of the ship, and partly by entreaties, partly by threats, actually declaring that he would denounce and vilify them to the Athenians as having taken him on board at the start in no ignorance but under bribes, — in this way compelled them to sail by and make the coast of Asia.

3 Of his property, much was secretly abstracted for him by his friends and sent across the sea to Asia ; but the sum total of that which was brought to light and confiscated amounted to one hundred talents, according to Theopomus, — Theophrastus says to eighty, — and yet Themistocles did not possess the worth of three talents before he entered political life.

XXVI. After landing at Cymé, and learning that many people on the coast were watching to seize him, and especially Ergoteles and Pythodorus, —

for the chase was a lucrative one to such as were fond of getting gain from any and every source, since two hundred talents had been publicly set upon his head by the King,— he fled to *Ægæ*, a little *Æolic* citadel, where no one knew him except his host Nicogenes, the wealthiest man in *Æolia*, and well acquainted with the magnates of the interior. With him he remained in hiding for a few days.

The hiding
at *Ægæ*, and
the journey
to the Per-
sian court.

During this time, after the dinner which followed ² a certain sacrifice, Olbius, the paedagogue of the children of Nicogenes, becoming rapt and inspired, lifted up his voice and cried the following verse: “Night shall speak, and night instruct thee, night shall give thee victory.”

And in the night that followed, Themistocles, as he lay in bed, thought he saw in a dream that a serpent wound itself along over his body and crept up to his neck, then became an eagle, as soon as it touched his face, enveloped him with its wings and lifted him on high and bore him a long distance, when there appeared as it were a golden herald’s wand, on which it set him securely down, freed from helpless terror and distress.

However that may be, he was sent on his way by ³ Nicogenes, who devised the following scheme for his safety. Most barbarous nations, and the Persians in particular, are savage and harsh in their jealous watchfulness over their women. Not only their wedded wives, but also their boughten slaves and concubines are strictly guarded, so that they are

seen by no outsiders, but live at home in complete seclusion, and even on their journeys are carried in tents closely hung round about with curtains and set upon four-wheeled waggons. Such a vehicle was made ready for Themistocles, and safely ensconced in this he made his journey, while his attendants replied in every case to those who met them with enquiries, that they were conducting a Hellenic woman, fair but frail, to one of the King's courtiers.

XXVII. Now Thucydides and Charon of Lampsacus relate that Xerxes was dead, and that it was his son Artaxerxes with whom Themistocles had his interview; but Ephorus and Dinon and Clitarchus and Heracleides and yet more besides have it that it was Xerxes to whom he came. With the chronological data Thucydides seems to me more in accord, although these are not securely established.

Be that as it may, Themistocles, thus at the threshold of the dreadful ordeal, had audience first with Artabanus the Chiliarch, or Grand Vizier, and said that he was a Hellene, and that he desired to have an audience with the King on matters which were of the highest importance and for which the monarch entertained the liveliest concern. Whereupon the Chiliarch replied: "O Stranger, men's customs differ; different people honor different practices; but all honor the exaltation and maintenance of their own peculiar ways. Now you Hellenes are said to admire liberty and equality above all things; but in our eyes, among many fair customs, this is the fairest

of all, to honor the King, and to pay obeisance to him as the image of that god who is the preserver of all things. If, then, thou approvest our practice and wilt pay obeisance, it is in thy power to behold and address the King; but if thou art otherwise minded, it will be needful for thee to employ messengers to him in thy stead, for it is not a custom of this country that the King give ear to a man who has not paid him obeisance." When Themistocles heard this, he said to him: "Nay, but I am come, Artabanus, to augment the King's fame and power, and I will not only myself observe your customs, since such is the pleasure of the god who exalts the Persians, but I will induce more men than do so now to pay obeisance to the King. Therefore let this matter by no means stand in the way of the words I wish to speak to him." "And what Hellene," said ³ Artabanus, "shall I say thou art who hast thus come? Verily, thou dost not seem to be a man of ordinary understanding." And Themistocles said: "This, Artabanus, no one may learn before the King."

So indeed Phanias says, and Eratosthenes, in his book "On Wealth," adds the statement that it was through a woman of Eretria, whom the Chiliarch had to wife, that Themistocles obtained interview and conference with him.

XXVIII. That may or may not be so. But when he was led into the presence of the King and had made him obeisance, and was standing in silence, the King ordered the interpreter to ask him who he was, and, on the interpre-

The audience with the King.

ter's asking, he said: "I who thus come to thee, O King, am Themistocles the Athenian, an exile, pursued by the Hellenes; and to me the Persians are indebted for many ills, but for more blessings, since I hindered the pursuit of the Hellenes, at a time when Hellas was brought into safety, and the salvation of my own home gave me an opportunity for showing some favor also to you. Now, therefore, I am in all things adjusted to my present calamities, and I come prepared to receive the favor of one who benevolently offers reconciliation, or to deprecate the anger of one who cherishes the remembrance of injuries. But do thou take my foes to witness the good I wrought the Persians, and now use my misfortunes for the display of thy virtue rather than for the satisfaction of thine anger. For it is a suppliant of thine whom thou wilt save, but an enemy of the Hellenes whom thou wilt destroy." After these words Themistocles spoke of divine portents in his favor, enlarging upon the vision which he saw at the house of Nicogenes, and the oracle of Dodonæan Zeus, how when he was bidden by it to proceed to the namesake of the god, he had concluded that he was thereby sent to him, since both were actually "Great Kings," and were so addressed.

3 On hearing this the Persian made no direct reply to him, although struck with admiration at the boldness of his spirit; but in converse with his friends it is said that he congratulated himself over what he called the greatest good fortune, and prayed Arimanus ever to give his enemies such minds as to drive

their best men away from them ; and then sacrificed to the gods, and straightway betook himself to his cups ; and in the night, in the midst of his slumbers, for very joy called out thrice : “ I have Themistocles the Athenian.”

XXIX. At daybreak he called his friends together and had Themistocles to be introduced, who expected no favorable outcome, because he saw that the guards at the gates, when they learned the name of him who was going in, were bitterly disposed and spoke insultingly to him. And besides, Rhoxanes the Chiliarch, when Themistocles came along opposite him,—the King being seated and the rest hushed in silence,—said in an angry undertone: “ Thou subtle serpent of Hellas, the King’s good genius hath brought thee hither.” However, when he had come into the King’s presence, and had once more paid him obeisance, the King welcomed him and spake him kindly, and said he now owed him two hundred talents, for since he had delivered himself up it was only just that he himself should receive the reward proclaimed for his captor. Much more than this he promised him, and bade him take heart, and gave him leave to say whatever he wished concerning the affairs of Hellas, with all frankness of speech.

He is kindly received and highly honored at the Persian court.

But Themistocles made answer that the speech of ² man was like embroidered tapestries, since like them this too had to be extended in order to display its patterns, but when it was rolled up it concealed and distorted them. Wherefore he had need of time.

The King at once showed his pleasure in this comparison by bidding him take time, and so Themistocles asked for a year, and in that time he learned the Persian language sufficiently to have interviews with ³ the King by himself without interpreters. Outsiders thought these conferences concerned Hellenic matters merely; but since about that time many innovations were introduced by the King at court and among his favorites, the magnates became jealous of Themistocles, on the ground that he had made bold to use his freedom of speech with the King to their harm. For the honors he enjoyed were far beyond those paid to other foreigners; nay, he actually took part in the King's hunts and in his household diversions, so far that he even had access to the queen-mother and became intimate with her, and at the King's bidding heard expositions also of the Magian lore.

And when Demaratus the Spartan, being bidden to ask a gift, asked that he might ride in state through Sardis, wearing his tiara upright after the manner of the Persian kings, Mithraustes the King's cousin said, touching the tiara of Demaratus: "This tiara of thine hath no brains to cover; indeed thou wilt not be Zeus merely because thou graspest the thunderbolt." ⁴ The King also repulsed Demaratus in anger at his request, and was minded to be inexorable towards him, and yet Themistocles begged and obtained a reconciliation with him.

And it is said that later kings also, in whose reigns Persia and Hellas came into closer relations, as often

as they asked for a Hellene to advise them, promised him in writing, every one, that he should be more influential at court than Themistocles. And Themistocles himself, they say, now become great and courted by many, said to his children, when a splendid table was once set for them: "My children, we should now have been undone, had we not been undone before." Three cities, as most writers say, were given him for bread, wine, and meat, namely: Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus; and two others are added by Neanthes of Cyzicus and by Phanias, namely: Percoté and Palæscepsis; these for his bedding and raiment.

XXX. Now as he was going down to the sea on his commission to deal with Hellenic affairs, a Persian, Epixyes by name, satrap of Upper Phrygia, plotted against his life, having for a long time kept certain Pisidians in readiness to slay him whenever he should reach the city called Lion's Head, and take up his night's quarters there. But while Themistocles was asleep at midday before, it is said that the Mother of the Gods appeared to him in a dream and said: "O Themistocles, avoid a head of lions, that thou mayest not encounter a lion. And for this service to thee, I demand of thee Mnesiptolema to be my handmaid." Much disturbed, of course, Themistocles, with a prayer of acknowledgment to the goddess, forsook the highway, made a circuit by another route, and passing by that place, at last, as night came on, took up his quarters.

Warned by
Cybele in a
dream, he
escapes
death.

2 Now, since one of the beasts of burden which carried the equipage of his tent had fallen into the river, the servants of Themistocles spread out the hangings which had got wet and were drying them out. The Pisidians, at this juncture, sword in hand, made their approach, and since they could not see distinctly by the light of the moon what it was that was being dried, they thought it was the tent of Themistocles, and that they would find him reposing inside. But when they drew near and lifted up the hanging, they were fallen upon by the guards and apprehended. Thus Themistocles escaped the peril, and because he was amazed at the epiphany of the goddess, he built a temple in Magnesia in honor of Dindymené, and made his daughter Mnesiptolema her priestess.

XXXI. When he had come to Sardis and was viewing at his leisure the temples built there and the multitude of their dedicatory offerings, and

His life and death in Magnesia. saw in the temple of the Mother the so-called

Water-carrier,—a maid in bronze, two cubits high, which he himself when he was water commissioner at Athens had caused to be made and dedicated from the fines he exacted of those whom he convicted of stealing and tapping the public water,—whether it was because he felt some chagrin at the capture of the offering, or because he wished to show the Athenians what honor and power he had in the King's service, he addressed a proposition to the Lydian satrap and asked him to restore the maid to Athens.

2 But the Barbarian was incensed and threatened to

write a letter to the King about it; whereat Themistocles was afraid, and so had recourse to the women's chambers, and, by winning the favor of the satrap's concubines with money, succeeded in assuaging his anger. Thereafter he behaved more circumspectly, fearing now even the jealousy of the Barbarians. For he did not wander about over Asia, as Theopompus says, but had a house in Magnesia, and gathered in large gifts, and was honored like the noblest Persians, and so lived on for a long time without concern, because the King paid no heed at all to Hellenic affairs, owing to his occupation with the state of the interior.

But when Egypt revolted with Athenian aid, and ³ Hellenic triremes sailed up as far as Cyprus and Cilicia, and Cimon's mastery of the sea forced the King to resist the efforts of the Hellenes and to hinder their hostile growth; and when at last forces began to be moved, and generals were despatched hither and thither, and messages came to Themistocles in Magnesia saying that the King commanded him to make good his promises by applying himself to the Hellenic problem, then, neither embittered by anything like anger against his former fellow-citizens, nor lifted up by the great honor and power he was to have in the ⁴ war, but possibly thinking his task an unapproachable one, both because Hellas had other great generals at the time, and especially because Cimon was so marvellously successful in his campaigns; yet most of all out of regard for the reputation of his own achievements and the trophies of those early days; having decided that his best course was to put a fitting end

to his life, he made a sacrifice to the gods, then called his friends together, gave them a farewell clasp of his hand, and, as the current story goes, drank bull's blood, or as some say, took a quick poison, and so died in Magnesia, in the sixty-fifth year of his life, most of which had been spent in political leadership.

They say that the King, on learning the cause and the manner of his death, admired the man yet more, and continued to treat his friends and kindred with kindness.

XXXII. Themistocles left three sons by Archippe, the daughter of Lysander, of the deme Alopecé,

namely: Archeptolis, Polyeuctus and Cleopantus, the last of whom Plato the philosopher mentions as a capital horseman, but good for nothing else. Of his two oldest sons, Neocles died in boyhood from the bite of a horse, and Diocles was adopted by his grandfather Lysander. He had several daughters, of whom Mnesiptolema, born of his second wife, became the wife of Archeptolis her half-brother, and Italia of Panthoides the Chian, and Sybaris of Nicomedes the Athenian. Nicomache was given in marriage by her brothers to Phrasicles, the nephew of Themistocles, who sailed to Magnesia after his uncle's death, and who also took charge of Asia, the youngest of all the children.

2 The Magnesians have a splendid tomb of Themistocles in their market place; and with regard to his remains, Andocides is worthy of no attention when he says, in his Address to his Associates, that the Athenians stole away those remains and scattered them

His burial,
and his pos-
terity.

abroad; for he is trying by his lies to incite the oligarchs against the people; and Phylarchus, too, when, as if in a tragedy, he all but erects a theatrical machine for this story, and brings into the action a certain Neocles, forsooth, and Demopolis, sons of Themistocles, wishes merely to stir up tumultuous emotion; his tale even an ordinary person must know is fabricated.

Diodorus the Topographer, in his work "On Tombs,"³ says, by conjecture rather than from actual knowledge, that near the large harbor of the Piræus a sort of elbow juts out from the promontory opposite Alcimus, and that as you round this and come inside where the water of the sea is still, there is a basement of generous size, and that the altar-like structure upon this is the tomb of Themistocles. And he thinks that the comic poet Plato is a witness in favor of his view when he says:

"Thy tomb is mounded in a fair and sightly place;
The merchantmen shall greet it from on every side;
It shall behold those outward, and those inward bound,
And view the emulous rivalry of racing ships."

For the lineal descendants of Themistocles there⁴ were also certain dignities maintained in Magnesia down to my time, and the revenues of these were enjoyed by a Themistocles of Athens, who was my intimate and friend in the school of Ammonius the philosopher.

ARISTIDES

ARISTIDES

I. ARISTIDES, the son of Lysimachus, belonged to the tribe Antiochis, and to the deme Alopecé. As regards his substance, stories differ, some ^{Birth and substance.} having it that he passed all the days of his life in severe poverty, and that at his death he left behind him two daughters who for a long time were not sought in marriage because of their indigence. But in contradiction of this story which so many writers give, Demetrius of Phalerum, in his “Socrates,” says he knows of an estate in Phalerum which belonged to Aristides,—the one in which he lies buried,—and regards as proofs of his opulent circumstances, first, his office of Archon *Eponymous*, which only he could hold who obtained it by lot from among the families carrying the highest property-assessments (these were called *Pentacosiomedimni*, or Five-hundred-bushelers); second, his banishment in ostracism, for no poor man, but only men from great houses which incurred envy because of their family influence were liable to ostracism; third, and last, the fact that he left in the precinct of Dionysus as offerings for victory in choral contests some tripods, which, even in our day, were pointed out as still bearing the inscription: “The tribe Antiochis was victorious; Aristides was Choregus; Archestratus was Poet.”

3 Now this last argument, though it seems very strong, is really very weak. For both Epaminondas, who, as all men know, was reared and always lived in great poverty, and Plato the philosopher, took it upon themselves to furnish munificent public performances, the first, of men trained to play the flute, the second, of boys trained to sing and dance; but Plato received the money that he spent thereon from Dion of Syracuse, and Epaminondas from Pelopidas. Good men wage no savage and relentless war against the gifts of friends, but while they look upon gifts taken to be stored away and increase the receiver's wealth as ignoble and mean, they refuse none which promote an unselfish and splendid munificence.

4 However, as regards the tripods, Panætius tries to show that Demetrius was deceived by identity of name. From the Persian wars, he says, down to the end of the Peloponnesian war, only two Aristides are recorded as victorious *choregi*, and neither of them is identical with the son of Lysimachus. One was the son of Xenophilus, and the other lived long afterwards, as is proved by the inscription itself, which is written in the character used after Eucleides, as well as by the last name, Archestratus, of whom there is no record during the Persian wars, while during the time of the Peloponnesian war his name often appears as that of a choral poet.

5 This argument of Panætius should be more closely examined as to its validity; but to banishment in ostracism every one was liable who was superior to the common run of men in reputation, or lineage, or

eloquence. And so it was that Damon, the teacher of Pericles, was ostracized because he was thought to be rather extraordinary in his wisdom.

Furthermore, Idomeneus says that Aristides obtained the office of archon, not by lot, but by the election of the Athenians. And if he was made archon after the battle of Platæa, as Demetrius himself has written, it is certainly very credible that in view of such a reputation and such successes as he there won, he should be deemed worthy, for his valor, of an office which men who drew lots for it obtained for their wealth.

Demetrius is clearly ambitious to rescue not only Aristides, but also Socrates from what he deems the great evil of poverty, for he says that Socrates owned not only his house, but also seventy *minæ* out at interest with Crito.

II. Aristides was an intimate friend of that Cleisthenes who set the state in order after the expulsion of the tyrants. He also admired and emulated, above all other statesmen, Lycurgus the Lacedæmonian. He therefore favored an aristocratic form of government, and ever had opposed to him, as champion of the people, Themistocles the son of Neocles.

Aristides
contrasted
with The-
mistocles.

Some say that even as boys and fellow-pupils,² from the outset, in every word and deed, whether serious or trivial, they were at variance with one another, and that by this very rivalry their natures were straightway made manifest, the one as dexterous, reckless, and unscrupulous, easily carried with

impetuosity into any and every undertaking; the other as established on a character which was firm, and intent on justice, and which admitted no falsity or vulgarity or deceit, not even in any sport whatsoever.

3 But Ariston of Ceos says that this enmity of theirs, which came to be so intense, had its origin in a love affair. They were both enamoured of Stesilaüs, who was of Ceian birth, and in beauty of person the most brilliant of youths; and they cherished their passion so immoderately, that not even after the boy's beauty had faded did they lay aside their rivalry, but, as though they had merely taken preliminary practice and exercise in that, they presently engaged in matters of state also with passionate heat and opposing desires.

4 Themistocles joined a society of political friends, and so secured no inconsiderable support and power. Hence when some one told him that he would be a good ruler over the Athenians if he would only be fair and impartial to all, he replied: "Never may I sit on a tribunal where my friends are to get no more advantage from me than strangers."

But Aristides walked the way of statesmanship by himself, on a private path of his own, as it were, because, in the first place, he was unwilling to join with any comrades in wrong-doing, or to vex them by withholding favors; and, in the second place, he saw that power derived from friends incited many to do wrong, and so was on his guard against it, deeming it right that the good citizen should base his confidence only on serviceable and just conduct.

III. However, since Themistocles was a reckless agitator, and opposed and thwarted him in every measure of state, Aristides was almost compelled, for his own part also, partly in self-defence, and partly to curtail his adversary's power, which was increasing through the favor of the many, to set himself, even against his real convictions, in opposition to what Themistocles was trying to do, thinking it better that some advantages should escape the people than that his adversary, by prevailing everywhere, should become too strong.

Political
opposition
of Themis-
tocles ; un-
selfish patri-
otism of
Aristides.

Finally there came a time when he opposed and ² defeated Themistocles in an attempt to carry some really necessary measure. Then he could no longer hold his peace, but declared, as he left the assembly, that there was no safety for the Athenian state unless they threw both Themistocles and himself into the *barathrum*. On another occasion he himself introduced a certain measure to the people, and was carrying it through successfully, in spite of the attacks of the opposition upon it, but just as the presiding officer was to put it to the final vote, perceiving, from the very speeches that had been made in opposition to it, the inexpediency of his measure, he refrained from having it enacted. And often-times he would introduce his measures through other men, that Themistocles might not be driven by the spirit of rivalry with him to oppose what was expedient for the state.

Altogether admirable was his steadfast constancy ³

amid the revulsions of political feeling. He was not unduly lifted up by his honors, and faced adversity with a calm gentleness, while in all cases alike he considered it his duty to give his services to his country freely and without any reward, either in money, or, what meant far more, in reputation. And so it befell, as the story goes, that when the verses composed by *Æschylus* upon Amphiaraüs were recited in the theatre:—

“He wishes not to seem, but rather just to be,
And reap a harvest from deep furrows in a mind
From which there spring up honorable counsellings,”

all the spectators turned their eyes on Aristides, feeling that he, above all men, was possessed of such excellence.

IV. It was not only against the inclinations of his good-will and personal favor that he was a most strenuous champion of justice, but also against those of his anger and hatred. At any rate a story is told, how he was once prosecuting an enemy in court, and after he had made his accusation the judges were loath to hear the defendant at all, and demanded that their vote be taken against him straightway; but Aristides sprang to his feet and seconded the culprit’s plea for a hearing and the usual legal procedure.

And again, when he was serving as private arbitrator between two men, on one of them saying that his opponent had done Aristides much injury, “Tell me rather,” he said, “whether he has done thee any

Ane-
dotes
of his jus-
tice.

wrong; it is for thee, not for myself, that I am seeking justice."

When he was elected overseer of the public rev-2 enues, he proved clearly that large sums had been embezzled, not only by his fellow-officials, but also by those of former years, and particularly by Themistocles:—

"The man was clever, but of his hand had no control."

For this cause Themistocles banded many together against Aristides, prosecuted him for theft at the auditing of his accounts, and actually got a verdict against him, according to Idomeneus. But the first 3 and best men of the city were incensed at this, and he was not only exempted from his fine, but even appointed to administer the same charge again. Then he pretended to repent him of his former course, and made himself more pliable, thus giving pleasure to those who were stealing the common funds by not examining them or holding them to strict account, so that they gorged themselves with the public mon-
eys, and then lauded Aristides to the skies, and pleaded with the people in his behalf, eagerly desirous that he be once more elected to his office. But just 4 as they were about to vote, Aristides rebuked the Athenians. "Verily," said he, "when I served you in office with fidelity and honor, I was reviled and persecuted; but now that I am flinging away much of the common fund to thieves, I am thought to be an admirable citizen. For my part, I am more ashamed of my present honor than I was of my

former condemnation, and I am sore distressed for you, because it is more honorable in your eyes to please base men than to guard the public moneys." By these words, as well as by exposing their thefts, he did indeed stop the mouths of the men who were then testifying loudly in his favor, but he won genuine and just praise from the best citizens.

V. Now when Datis, on being sent by Darius ostensibly to punish the Athenians for burning Sardis, Aristides at but really to subdue all the Hellenes, put Marathon. in at Marathon with all his armament and went to ravaging the country, then, of the ten generals appointed by the Athenians for the conduct of the war, it was Miltiades who enjoyed the greatest consideration, but in reputation and influence Aristides was second only to him. By adopting at that time the opinion of Miltiades about the battle to be fought, he did much to turn the scale in its favor. And since each general held the chief authority for a single day in turn, when the command came round to him, he handed it over to Miltiades, thereby teaching his fellow-officers that to obey and follow men of wisdom is not disgraceful, but dignified and salutary. By thus appeasing the jealousy of his colleagues and inducing them to be cheerfully contented in the adoption of a single opinion (and that the best), he confirmed Miltiades in the strength which comes from an unrestricted power. For each of the other generals at once relinquished his own right to command for a day in turn, and put himself at the orders of Miltiades.

In the battle the Athenian centre was the hardest² pressed, and it was there that the Barbarians held their ground the longest, over against the tribes Leontis and Antiochis. There, then, Themistocles and Aristides fought brilliantly, ranged side by side; for one was a Leontid, the other an Antiochid. When the Athenians had routed the Barbarians and driven them aboard their ships and saw that they were sailing away, not toward the islands, but into the gulf toward Attica under compulsion of wind and wave, then they were afraid lest the enemy find Athens empty of defenders, and so they hastened homeward with nine tribes, and reached the city that very day.

But Aristides was left behind at Marathon with³ his own tribe, to guard the captives and the booty. Nor did he belie his reputation, but though silver and gold lay about in heaps, and though there were all sorts of raiment and untold wealth besides in the tents and captured utensils, he neither desired to meddle with it himself, nor would he suffer any one else to do so, except as certain ones helped themselves without his knowledge.

Among these was Callias the Torch-bearer. Some⁴ Barbarian, it seems, rushed up to this man, supposing him to be a king from his long hair and the head-band that he wore, made obeisance to him, and taking him by the hand in suppliant fashion, showed him a great mass of gold buried up in a sort of pit. Callias, most savage and lawless of men, took up the gold; but the man, to prevent his betraying the

matter to others, he slew. From this circumstance, they say, his descendants are called by the comic poets "Laccopluti," or "Pit-wealthies," in sly allusion to the place where Callias found his gold.

5 Aristides at once received the office of Archon *Eponymous*. And yet Demetrius of Phalerum says that it was a little while before his death, and after the battle of Platæa, that the man held this office. But in the official records, after Xanthippides, in whose year of office Mardonius was defeated at Platæa, you cannot find, long as the list is, so much as the name Aristides; whereas immediately after Phanippus, in whose year of office the victory at Marathon was won, an Aristides is recorded as archon.

VI. Of all his virtues it was his justice that most impressed the multitude, because of its most continual and most general exercise. Wherefore, "The Just;" though poor and a man of the people, he of justice. Aristides philosophy acquired that most kingly and godlike surname of "The Just." This no kings or tyrants ever coveted, nay, they rejoiced to be surnamed "Besiegers," or "Thunderbolts," or "Conquerors," and some "Eagles," or "Hawks," cultivating the reputation which is based on violence and power, as it seems, rather than on virtue.

2 And yet divinity, to which such men are eager to adapt and conform themselves, is believed to have three elements of superiority, — incorruption, power, and virtue; and the most reverend, the divinest of these, is virtue. For vacuum and the ultimate elements partake of incorruption; and great power is

exhibited by earthquakes and thunderbolts, and rushing tornadoes, and invading floods; but in fundamental justice nothing participates except through the exercise of intelligent reasoning powers.

Therefore, considering the three feelings which are generally entertained towards divinity,—envy, fear, and honorable regard,—men seem to envy and facilitate the deities for their incorruption and perpetuity; to dread and fear them for their sovereignty and power; but to love and honor and revere them for their justice. And yet, although men are thus disposed, it is immortality, of which our nature is not capable, and power, the chief disposal of which is in the hands of fortune, that they eagerly desire; while as for virtue, the only divine excellence within our reach, they put it at the bottom of the list, unwisely too, since a life passed in power and great fortune and authority needs justice to make it divine; by injustice it is made bestial.

VII. Now, to resume, it befell Aristides to be loved at first because of this surname, but afterwards to be jealously hated, especially when Themistocles set the story going among the multitude that Aristides had done away with the public courts of justice by his determining and judging everything in private, and that, without any one perceiving it, he had established for himself a monarchy, saving only the armed body-guard. And besides, the people too must by this time have become greatly elated over their victory; they thought nothing too good for themselves, and so were vexed with

His ostracism; he was too just.

those who towered above the multitude in name and
2 reputation. So they assembled in the city from all
the country round, and ostracized Aristides, giving to
their envious dislike of his reputation the name of
fear of tyranny.

Now the sentence of ostracism was not a chastisement of base practices, nay, it was speciously called a humbling and docking of oppressive influence and power; but it was really a merciful exorcism of the spirit of jealous hate, which thus vented its malignant desire to injure, not in some irreparable evil, but in
3 a mere change of residence for ten years. And when ignoble men of the baser sort came to be subjected to this penalty, it ceased to be inflicted at all, and Hyperbolus was the last to be thus ostracized.

It is said that Hyperbolus was ostracized for the following reason. Alcibiades and Nicias had the greatest power in the state, and were at odds. Accordingly, when the people were about to exercise the ostracism, and were clearly going to vote against one or the other of these two men, they came to terms with one another, united their opposing factions, and effected the ostracism of Hyperbolus. The people were incensed at this, for they felt that the institution had been insulted and abused, and so they abandoned it utterly and put an end to it.

4 The method of procedure, — to give a general outline, — was as follows. Each voter took an *ostrakon*, or potsherd, wrote on it the name of that citizen whom he wished to have change his residence, and brought it to a place in the agora which was all fenced about

with railings. The archons first counted the total number of *ostraka* cast. For if the voters were less than six thousand, the ostracism was void. Then they separated the names, and the man who had received the most votes they proclaimed banished for ten years, with the right to enjoy the income from his property.

Now at the time of which I was speaking, as the⁵ voters were inscribing their *ostraka*, it is said that an unlettered and utterly boorish fellow handed his *ostrakon* to Aristides, whom he took to be one of the ordinary crowd, and asked him to write *Aristides* on it. He, astonished, asked the man what possible wrong Aristides had done him. "None whatever," was the answer, "I don't even know the fellow, but I am tired of hearing him everywhere called 'The Just.'" On hearing this, Aristides made no answer, but wrote his name on the *ostrakon* and handed it back.

Finally, as he was departing the city, he lifted up⁶ his hands to heaven and prayed,—a prayer the opposite, as it seems, of that which Achilles made,—that no crisis might overtake the Athenians which should compel the people to remember Aristides.

VIII. But in the third year thereafter, when Xerxes was marching through Thessaly and Bœotia against Attica, they repealed their law of ostracism, and voted that those who had been sent away under it might return. The chief reason for this was their fear of Aristides, lest he attach himself to the enemy's cause, and corrupt

His magnanimity before Salamis.

and pervert many of his fellow-citizens to the side of the Barbarian. But they much misjudged the man. Even before this decree of theirs, he was ever inciting and urging the Hellenes to win their freedom ; and after it was passed, when Themistocles was general with sole powers, he assisted him in every undertaking and counsel, although he thereby, for the sake of the general safety, made his chiefest foe the most famous of men.

2 Thus when Eurybiades wished to abandon Salamis, but the barbarian triremes, putting out by night, had encompassed the strait where he lay round about, and had beset the islands therein, and no Hellene knew of this encompassment, Aristides came over to them from *Ægina*, venturously sailing through the enemy's ships. He went at once by night to the tent of Themistocles, and called him forth alone.

3 “O Themistocles,” said he, “if we are wise, we shall at last lay aside our vain and puerile contention, and begin a salutary and honorable rivalry with one another in emulous struggles to save Hellas, thou as commanding general, I as assistant counsellor, since at the very start I learn that thou art the only one who has adopted the best policy, urging as thou dost to fight a decisive sea-fight here in the narrows as soon as may be. And though thine allies oppose thee, thy foes would seem to assist thee ; for the sea round about and behind us is already filled with hostile ships, so that even our unwilling ones must now of necessity be brave men and fight. Indeed no way 4 of escape is left.” To this Themistocles replied : “ I

should not have wished, O Aristides, to find thee superior to me here ; but I shall try to emulate thy fair beginning, and to surpass thee in my actions." At the same time he told Aristides of the trick that he had contrived against the Barbarian, and entreated him to show Eurybiades convincingly, inasmuch as he had the greater influence with that commander, that there was no safety except in a sea-fight.

So it happened in the council of generals, that⁵ Cleocritus the Corinthian declared to Themistocles that his plan was not pleasing to Aristides, since he, though present, held his peace. Aristides at once replied that he would not have held his peace had not Themistocles counselled for the best ; but as it was, he kept quiet, not out of any good-will to the man, but because he approved of his plan.

IX. While the captains of the Hellenes were acting on this plan, Aristides noticed that Psyttaleia, a small island lying in the straits in front of Salamis, was full of the enemy. He ^{His exploit at Salamis.} therefore embarked in small boats the most ardent and the most warlike of the citizens, made a landing on Psyttaleia, joined battle with the Barbarians, and slew them all, save the few conspicuous men who were taken alive. Among these were three sons² of the King's sister Sandaucé, whom he straightway sent to Themistocles, and it is said that, in obedience to some oracle or other, and at the bidding of Euphrantides the seer, they were sacrificed, before the battle, to Dionysus Carnivorous.

Then Aristides lined the islet all round with his

hoplites, and lay in wait for any who should be cast up there, that no friend might perish, and no foe escape. For the greatest crowding of the ships, and the most strenuous part of the battle, seems to have been in this region. And for this reason a trophy was erected on Psyttaleia.

3 After the battle, Themistocles, by way of sounding Aristides, said that the deed they had now performed was a noble one, but a greater still remained, and that was to capture Asia in Europe, by sailing up to the Hellespont as fast as they could and cutting in twain the bridges there. But Aristides cried out with a loud voice and bade him abandon the proposal, and seek rather with all diligence how they might most speedily expel the Mede from Hellas, lest, being shut in and unable to make his escape, from sheer necessity he throw this vast force of his upon the defensive. So Themistocles sent once more the eunuch Arnaces, a prisoner of war, bidding him tell the King that the Hellenes had actually set out on a voyage to attack the bridges, but that he, Themistocles, had succeeded in turning them back, wishing to save the King.

X. At this Xerxes grew exceeding fearful, and hurried straight to the Hellespont; but Mardonius,

Opponent of Mardonius, and envoy to Sparta. with the flower of the army, to the number of three hundred thousand men, was left behind. He was a formidable adversary,

and because his confidence in his infantry was strong, he wrote threateningly to the Hellenes, saying: "Ye have conquered with your maritime

timbers landsmen who know not how to ply the oar ; but now, broad is the land of Thessaly and fair the plain of Boeotia for brave horsemen and men at arms to contend in." But to the Athenians he sent separate letters and proposals from the King, who promised to restore their city, give them much money, and make them lords of the Hellenes, if only they would cease fighting against him.

When the Lacedæmonians learned this, they took ² fright, and sent an embassy to Athens, begging the Athenians to despatch their wives and children to Sparta, and to accept from her a support for their aged and infirm ; for great was the distress among the people, since it had so recently lost both land and city. However, after listening to the embassy, on motion of Aristides, they answered with an admirable answer, declaring that they could be tolerant with their foes for supposing that everything was to be bought for wealth and money, since their foes could conceive of nothing higher than these things ; but they were indignant at the Lacedæmonians for having an eye only to the penury and indigence that now reigned at Athens, and for being so unmindful of the valor and ambition of the Athenians as to exhort them to contend for Hellas merely to win their rations.

When Aristides had passed this motion and had ³ introduced the waiting embassies into the assembly, he bade the Lacedæmonians tell their people that there was not bulk of gold above or below ground so large that the Athenians would take it in pay-

ment for the freedom of the Hellenes ; and to the messengers of Mardonius he said, pointing to the sun : “ As long as yonder sun journeys his appointed journey, so long will the Athenians wage war against the Persians in behalf of the land which has been ravaged by them and of the temples which they have defiled and consumed with fire.” Still further, he added a rider to the motion, that the priests should solemnly curse all who came to a parley with the Medes or forsook the alliance of the Hellenes.

4 When Mardonius for the second time invaded Attica, again the people crossed over to Salamis. Then Aristides, who had been sent as envoy to Lacedæmon, inveighed against their sluggishness and indifference, in that they had once more abandoned Athens to the Barbarian, and demanded that they go to the aid of what was still left of Hellas. On hearing this, the Ephors, as long as it was day, publicly disported themselves in easy-going festival fashion ; for it was their festival of the *Hyacinthia*. But in the night they selected five thousand Spartans, each of whom had seven Helots to attend upon him, and 5 sent them forth without the knowledge of the Athenians. So when Aristides came before them with renewed invectives, they laughed and said he was but a sleepy babbler, for that their army was already in Arcadia on its march against the “ strangers ” (they called the Persians strangers). But Aristides declared they were jesting out of all season, forasmuch as they were deceiving their friends instead of their enemies.

This is the way Idomeneus tells the story. But in the decree which Aristides caused to be passed, he himself is not named as envoy, but Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides.

XI. Having been elected general with sole powers in view of the expected battle, he came to Platæa at the head of eight thousand Athenian hop-lites. There Pausanias also, the commander in chief of the whole Hellenic army, joined him with his Spartans, and the forces of the rest of the Hellenes kept streaming up. Now, generally speaking, there was no limit to the encampment of the Barbarians as it lay stretched out along the river Asopus, so vast was it; but round their baggage trains and chief headquarters they built a quadrangular wall, whereof each side was ten stadia in length.

To Pausanias and all the Hellenes under him ² Tisamenus the Eleian made prophecy, and foretold victory for them if they acted on the defensive and did not advance to the attack. But Aristides sent to Delphi and received from the god response that the Athenians would be superior to their foes if they made vows to Zeus, Cithæronian Hera, Pan, and the Sphragitic nymphs; paid sacrifices to the heroes Androcrates, Leucon, Pisandrus, Damocrates, Hypsion, Actæon, and Polyidus; and if they sustained the peril of battle on their own soil, in the plain of Eleusinian Demeter and Cora.

When this oracle was reported to Aristides, it perplexed him greatly. The heroes to whom he was to

The Delphic oracle given Aristides at Platæa.

sacrifice were, it was true, ancient dignitaries of the Platæans ; and the cave of the Sphragitic nymphs was on one of the peaks of Cithæron, facing the summer sunsets, and in it there was also an oracle in former days, as they say, and many of the natives were possessed of the oracular power, and these were called *nympholepti*, or “nymph-possessed.” But the plain of Eleusinian Demeter, and the promise of victory to the Athenians if they fought the battle in their own territory, called them back, as it were, to Attica, and changed the seat of war.

4 At this time the general of the Platæans, Arimnestus, had a dream in which he thought he was accosted by Zeus the Savior and asked what the Hellenes had decided to do, and replied : “On the morrow, my Lord, we are going to lead our army back to Eleusis, and fight out our issue with the Barbarians there, in accordance with the Pythian oracle.” Then the god said they were entirely in error, for the Pythian oracle’s places were there in the neighborhood of Platæa, and if they sought them they would surely find them. All this was made so vivid to Arimnestus that as soon as he awoke he summoned the oldest and most experienced of his fellow-citizens. By conference and investigation with these he discovered that near Hysiaæ, at the foot of mount Cithæron, there was a very ancient temple bearing the names of Eleusinian Demeter and Cora.

5 Straightway then he took Aristides and led him to the spot. They found that it was naturally very

well suited to forces inferior in cavalry for the array of their infantry phalanx, since the spurs of Cithaeron made the edges of the plain adjoining the temple unfit for horsemen. There, too, was the shrine of the hero Androcrates hard by, enveloped in a grove of dense and shady trees. And besides, that the oracle might leave no rift in the hope of victory, the Platæans voted, on motion of Arimnestus, to remove the boundaries of Platæa on the side toward Attica, and to give this territory to the Athenians, that so they might contend in defence of Hellas on their own soil, in accordance with the oracle.

This munificence of the Platæans became so celebrated that Alexander, many years afterwards, when he was now King of Asia, built the walls of Platæa, and had proclamation made by herald at the Olympic games that the King bestowed this grace upon the Platæans in return for their bravery and magnanimity in freely bestowing their territory upon the Hellenes in the Median war, and so showing themselves most zealous of all.

XII. Now with the Athenians the men of Tegea came to strife regarding their position in the line. They claimed that, as had always been the case, since the Lacedæmonians occupied the right wing, they themselves should occupy the left, and in support of their claim they sounded loudly the praises of their ancestors. The Athenians were incensed, and Aristides came forward and made this speech: "To argue with the men of Tegea about noble birth and bravery, there

Dispute for
the left
wing be-
tween Te-
geans and
Athenians.

is surely no time now; but we declare to you, O Spartans, and to the rest of the Hellenes, that valor is not taken away from a man, nor is it given him by his position in the line. Whatsoever post ye shall assign to us, we will endeavor to maintain and adorn it, and so bring no disgrace upon the contests we have made before. We are come, not to quarrel with our allies, but to do battle with our foes; not to heap praises on our fathers, but to show ourselves brave men in the service of Hellas. It is this contest which will show how much any city or captain or private soldier is worth to Hellas."

On hearing this, the councillors and leaders declared for the Athenians, and assigned to them the other wing.

XIII. While Hellas was thus in suspense and Athens especially in danger, certain men of that city who were of prominent families and large wealth, but had been impoverished by the war, saw that with their riches all their influence in the city and their reputation had departed, while other men now had the honors and offices. They therefore met together secretly at a certain house in Platæa, and conspired to overthrow the democracy; or, if their plans did not succeed, to injure the general cause and betray it to the Barbarians.

Such was the agitation in the camp, and many had already been corrupted, when Aristides got wind of the matter, and, fearful of the crisis that was so opportune for the plot, determined not to leave the

matter in neglect, nor yet to bring it wholly to the light, since it could not be known how many would be implicated by a test which was based on justice rather than expediency. Accordingly, he arrested ³ some eight or so of the many conspirators. Two of these, against whom the charge was first formally brought, and who were really the most guilty ones, *Æschines* of *Lamptræ* and *Agesias* of *Acharnæ*, fled the camp. The rest he released, affording thus an opportunity for encouragement and repentance to those who still thought they had escaped detection, and suggesting to them that the war was a great tribunal for their acquittal from the charges made against them, provided they took sincere and righteous counsel in behalf of their country.

XIV. After this, Mardonius made trial of the Hellenes with that arm of his service in which he thought himself most superior. He despatched all his cavalry against them as they lay encamped at the foot of *Cithæron*, in positions that were rugged and rocky,— Defeat and death of Masistius, commander of the Persian cavalry. all except the Megarians. These, to the number of three thousand, were encamped the rather in open plain. For this reason they suffered severely at the hands of the cavalry, which poured in tides against them, and found access to them on every side. Accordingly, they sent a messenger in haste to Pausanias, bidding him come to their aid, since they were unable of themselves to withstand the host of the Barbarians.

Pausanias, on hearing this, and seeing at once that ²

the camp of the Megarians was as good as hidden from view by the multitude of the enemy's javelins and arrows, and that its defenders were huddled together in narrow quarters, on his own part had no way of rendering them aid against horsemen, since his phalanx of Spartans was full-armored and slow of movement; but to the rest of the generals and captains of the Hellenes who were about him he proposed, to stir up their valor and ambition, that some of them should volunteer to make contention for the succor of the Megarians. The rest all hesitated, but Aristides, in behalf of the Athenians, undertook the task, and despatched his most zealous captain, Olympiodorus, with the three hundred men of his command, and archers mingled with them.

3 These quickly arrayed themselves and advanced to the attack on the run. Masistius, the commander of the barbarian cavalry, a man of wonderful prowess and of surpassing stature and beauty of person, saw them coming, and at once wheeled his horse to face them and charged down upon them. Then there was a mighty struggle between those who withstood and those who made the charge, since both regarded this as a test of the whole issue between them. Presently the horse of Masistius was hit with an arrow, and threw his rider, who lay where he fell, unable to raise himself, so heavy was his armor; and yet he was no easy prey to the Athenians, though they pressed upon him and smote him. For not only his chest and head, but also his legs were encased in gold and bronze and iron. But at last, with the spike of

a javelin, through the eye-hole of his helmet, he was smitten to the death, and the rest of the Persians abandoned his body and fled.

The magnitude of their success was known to the ⁴ Hellenes, not from the multitude of those they slew, for few had fallen, but from the grief of the Barbarians. They shorn their own hair in tribute to Masistius, and that of their horses and mules, and filled the plain with their wailing cries. They felt that they had lost a man who, after Mardonius himself, was by far the first in valor and authority.

XV. After this cavalry battle both sides refrained from further fighting for a long time, since only as they acted on the defensive would victory be theirs, — so the soothsayers interpreted the sacrifices alike for Persians and Hellenes, — but if they attacked, defeat. At last Mardonius, since he had supplies remaining for only a few days, and since the Hellenes were ever increasing in number as fresh bodies joined them, impatiently determined to wait no longer, but to cross the Asopus at daybreak and attack the Athenians unexpectedly. During the evening he gave the watch-word to his commanders.

But about midnight a solitary horseman quietly ² approached the camp of the Hellenes, and falling in with the outposts, ordered that Aristides the Athenian come to him. He was speedily obeyed, and then said: "I am Alexander the Macedonian, and I am come at the greatest peril to myself, out of my goodwill toward you, that no suddenness of attack may

Night-mes-
sage of
Alexander
of Macedon.

frighten you into inferior contention. Mardonius will surely give battle on the morrow, not because he has substantial hope or even courage, but because he is destitute of provisions. His soothsayers, indeed, are trying to keep him from battle by unpropitious sacrifices and oracular utterances, while his army is a prey to dejection and consternation ; but he must needs boldly try his fortune, or sit still and endure extremest destitution."

3 When he had told him this, Alexander begged Aristides to keep the knowledge to himself and bear it well in mind, but to tell it to none other. Aristides replied that it was not honorable to conceal this knowledge from Pausanias, since it was on him that the supreme command devolved, but that it should not be told the other leaders before the battle ; though in case Hellas were victorious, no man should remain ignorant of Alexander's zeal and valor.

After this conversation, the king of the Macedonians rode off back again, and Aristides went to the tent of Pausanias and told him all that had been said. Then they summoned the other leaders and gave them orders to keep the army in array, since there was to be a battle.

XVI. At this juncture, as Herodotus relates, Pausanias sent word to Aristides, demanding that the Athenians change their position and array themselves on the right wing, over against the Persians, where they would contend better, he said, since they were versed already in the Persian style of fighting, and emboldened by a previous

Strategic manœuvres and counter-manœuvres.

victory over them ; the left wing, where the medising Hellenes were going to attack, should be intrusted to himself and his Spartans.

The rest of the Athenian generals thought it inconsiderate and annoying in Pausanias to leave the rest of his line in the position assigned, while he moved them, and them only, back and forth like Helots, and put them forward where the fighting was to be hottest. But Aristides declared that they were utterly wrong ;² they had contended emulously with the Tegeans, but a little while back, for the occupation of the left wing, and plumed themselves on being preferred before those rivals ; but now, when the Lacedæmonians of their own accord vacated the right wing for them, and after a fashion proffered them the leadership among the Hellenes, they neither welcomed the reputation thus to be won, nor counted it gain that their contention would thus be, not with men of the same tribes and kindreds, but rather with barbarians and natural enemies.

Upon this the Athenians very zealously exchanged³ posts with the Spartans, and the word passed from lip to lip far through their ranks that their enemies would attack them with no better arms and with no braver spirits than at Marathon, nay, with the same kind of archery as then, and with the same variegated vesture and gold adornments to cover soft bodies and unmanly spirits ; “ while we have not only like arms and bodies with our brethren of that day, but that greater courage which is born of victories ; and our contest is not alone for land and city, as theirs was,

but also for the trophies which they won at Marathon and Salamis, to the end that the world think not that even those were due to Miltiades only, or to fortune, but to the Athenians."

4 The Spartans and Athenians, then, were busily engaged in exchanging posts; but the Thebans heard of it from deserters and told Mardonius. He, at once, whether through fear of the Athenians or out of ambition to engage with the Lacedæmonians, counter-changed his Persians to the right wing, and ordered the Hellenes with him to set themselves against the Athenians. When this change in his enemy's order of battle was manifest, Pausanias returned and occupied the right wing again, whereupon Mardonius also resumed his own left wing, just as he stood at the beginning, facing the Lacedæmonians. And thus the day came to an end without action.

The Hellenes, on deliberation, decided to change their camp to a position farther on, and to secure a spot where there was plenty of good water, since the neighboring springs were defiled and ruined by the Barbarians' superior force of cavalry.

XVII. Night came on, and the generals set out to lead their forces to the appointed encampment. The Retreat of the Greeks, and attack of Mardonius. soldiers, however, showed no great eagerness to follow in close order, but when they had once abandoned their first defences, most of them hurried on toward the city of Plataæa, and there tumult reigned as they scattered about and encamped in no order whatsoever.

It chanced that the Lacedæmonians alone were left

behind the others, and that too against their will. For Amompharetus, a man of a fierce and venturesome spirit, who had long been mad for battle and distressed by the many postponements and delays, now at last lost all control of himself, denounced the change of position as a runaway flight, and declared that he would not abandon his post, but stay there with his company and await the onset of Mardonius. And when Pausanias came up and told him that their ² action had been formally voted by the Hellenes in council, Amompharetus picked up a great stone and threw it down at the feet of Pausanias, saying that was his personal ballot for battle, and he cared not a whit for the cowardly counsels and votes of the rest. Pausanias, perplexed at the case, sent to the Athenians, who were already moving off, begging them to wait and make the march in company with him, and then started to lead the rest of his troops toward Platæa, with the idea that he would thus force Amompharetus from his position.

At this point day overtook them, and Mardonius, ³ who did not fail to notice that the Hellenes had abandoned their encampment, with his force in full array, bore down upon the Lacedæmonians, with great shouting and clamor on the part of the Barbarians, who felt that there would be no real battle, but that the Hellenes had only to be snatched off as they fled. And this lacked but little of coming to pass. For Pausanias, on seeing the situation, though he did check his march and order every man to take post for battle, forgot, either in his rage at Amom-

pharetus or his confusion at the speed of the enemy to give the signal for battle to the confederate Hellenes. For this reason they did not come to his aid at once, nor in a body, but in small detachments and stragglingly, after the battle was already joined.

4 When Pausanias got no favorable omens from his sacrifices, he ordered his Lacedæmonians to sit quiet with their shields planted in front of them, and to await his orders, making no attempt to repulse their enemies, while he himself went to sacrificing again. And by this time the horsemen were charging upon them; presently their missiles actually reached them, and many a Spartan was smitten. And then it was that Callicrates, said to be the fairest of the Hellenes to look upon, and the tallest man in their whole army, was shot, and, dying, said he did not grieve at death, since he had left his home to die for Hellas, but at dying without striking a single blow.

5 Their suffering was indeed a terrible one, but the restraint of the men was wonderful. They did not try to repel the enemy who were attacking them, but awaited from their god and their general the favorable instant, while they endured wounds and death at their posts.

Some say that as Pausanias was sacrificing and praying, a little to one side of his line of battle, some Lydians suddenly fell upon him and rudely hurled away the sacrificial offerings; and that Pausanias and his attendants, being without weapons, smote the intruders with the sacrificial staves and goads; wherefore, to this day, in imitation of this onslaught,

the ceremonies of beating the *ephebi* round the altar at Sparta, and of the procession of the Lydians which follows this, are duly celebrated as rites.

XVIII. Then, in distress at this state of affairs, while the seer slew victim after victim, Pausanias turned his face, all tears, toward the *Heræum*, and with hands uplifted prayed Cithæronian Hera and the other gods of the Plataean land that, if it was not the lot of the Hellenes to be victorious, they might at least do great deeds before they fell, and show to a certainty that their enemies had marched out against men who were brave and who knew how to fight. While Pausanias was thus calling on the gods, right in the midst of his prayers, the sacrifices showed themselves propitious and the seer announced victory.

The Spartans attack the Persians; the Athenians the Thebans.

Word was at once passed all along the line to set themselves in motion against the enemy, and the phalanx suddenly had the look of a fierce beast bristling up to defend itself. The Barbarians then got assurance that their contest was to be with men who would fight to the death. Therefore they made a rampart of their wicker targets and shot their arrows into the ranks of the Lacedæmonians. These, however, kept their shields closely locked together as they advanced, fell upon their foemen, tore away their wicker targets, and then, smiting the Persians in face and breast with their long spears, they slew many, who nevertheless did great deeds of courage before they fell. For they grasped the long spears with

their naked hands, fractured them for the most part, and then took to short-range fighting with a will, plying their daggers and scimetars, tearing away their enemies' shields, and locking them in close embrace; and so they held out a long time.

3 The Athenians, meanwhile, were quietly awaiting the Lacedæmonians. But when the shouts of those engaged in battle fell loud upon their ears, and there came, as they say, a messenger from Pausanias telling them what was happening, they set out with speed to aid him. However, as they were advancing through the plain to his aid, the medising Hellenes bore down upon them. Then Aristides, to begin with, when he saw them, went far forward and shouted to them, invoking the gods of Hellas, that they refrain from battle, and oppose not nor hinder those who were bearing aid to men standing 4 in the van of danger for the sake of Hellas. But as soon as he saw that they paid no heed to him, and were arrayed for battle, then he turned aside from rendering aid where he had proposed, and engaged with these, though they were about fifty thousand in number. But the greater part of them at once gave way and withdrew, especially as the Barbarians had also retired, and the battle is said to have been fought chiefly with the Thebans, whose foremost and most influential men were at that time very eagerly medising, and carried with them the multitude, not of choice, but at the bidding of the few.

XIX. The contest thus begun in two places, the Lacedæmonians were first to repulse the Persians.

Mardonius was slain by a man of Sparta named Arimnestus, who crushed his head with a stone, even as was foretold him by the oracle in the shrine of Amphiaraüs. Thither he had sent a Lydian man, and a Carian besides to the shrine of the Ptoan Apollo. This latter the prophet actually addressed in the Carian tongue; but the Lydian, on lying down in the precinct of Amphiaraüs, dreamed that an attendant of the god stood by his side and bade him be gone, and on his refusal, hurled a great stone upon his head, insomuch that he died from the blow (so ran the man's dream). These things are so reported. Furthermore, the Lacedæmonians shut the flying Persians up in their wooden stockade.

Shortly after this it was that the Athenians routed the Thebans, after slaying three hundred, their most eminent leaders, in the actual battle. After the rout was effected, and more might have been slain, there came a messenger to the Athenians, telling them that the barbarian force was shut up and besieged in their stockade. So they suffered the Hellenes in front of them to make good their escape, while they themselves marched to the stockade. They brought welcome aid to the Lacedæmonians, who were altogether inexperienced and helpless in storming walled places, and captured the camp with great slaughter of the enemy. Out of three hundred thousand, only forty thousand, it is said, made their escape with Artabazus.

Of those who contended in behalf of Hellas, there fell in all one thousand three hundred and sixty.

Of these, fifty-two were Athenians, all of the Æantid tribe, according to Clidemus, which made the bravest contest (for which reason the Æantids used to sacrifice regularly to the Sphragitic nymphs the sacrifice ordained by the Pythian oracle for the victory, receiving the expenses therefor from the public funds); ninety-one were Lacedæmonians, and sixteen were men of Tegea.

4 Astonishing, therefore, is the statement of Herodotus, where he says that these one hundred fifty-nine represented the only Hellenes who engaged the enemy, and that not one of the rest did so. Surely the total number of those who fell, as well as the monuments erected over them, testifies that the success was a common one. Besides, had the men of three cities only made the contest, while the rest sat idly by, the altar would not have been inscribed as it was :

“ Here did the Hellenes, flushed with a victory granted by Ares
Over the routed Persians, together, for Hellas delivered,
Build them an altar of Zeus, Zeus as Deliverer known.”

5 This battle was fought on the fourth of the month Boëdromion, as the Athenians reckon time ; but according to the Boëotian calendar, on the twenty-seventh of the month Panemus, the day when, down to the present time, the Hellenic council assembles in Platæa, and the Platæans sacrifice to Zeus the Deliverer for the victory.

We must not wonder at the apparent discrepancy between these dates, since, even now that astronomy is a more exact science, different peoples have different beginnings and endings for their months.

XX. After this, the Athenians would not grant the Spartans the highest meed of valor, nor allow them to erect a general trophy, and the cause of the Hellenes had certainly gone at once to destruction from their armed contention, had not Aristides, by abundant exhortation and admonition, checked his fellow-generals, especially Leocrates and Myronides, and persuaded them to submit the case to the Hellenes for decision.

The Platæans are given the meed of valor; fire is brought afresh from Delphi.

Thereupon, in the council of the Hellenes, Theogeiton the Megarian said that the meed of valor must be given to some third city, unless they desired the confusion of a civil war. At this point Cleocritus the Corinthian rose to speak. Every one thought he would demand the meed of valor for the Corinthians, since Corinth was held in greatest estimation after Sparta and Athens. But to the astonishment and delight of all, he made a proposition in behalf of the Platæans, and counselled to take away contention by giving them the meed of valor, since at their honor neither claimant could take offence.

To this proposal Aristides was first to agree on behalf of the Athenians, then Pausanias on behalf of the Lacedæmonians. Thus reconciled, they chose out eighty talents of the booty for the Platæans, with which they rebuilt the sanctuary of Athena, and set up the shrine, and adorned the temple with frescoes, which continue in perfect condition to the present day; then the Lacedæmonians set up a trophy on their own account, and the Athenians also for themselves.

4 When they consulted the oracle regarding the sacrifice to be made, the Pythian god made answer that they were to erect an altar of Zeus the Deliverer, but were not to sacrifice upon it until they had extinguished the fire throughout the land, which he said had been polluted by the Barbarians, and kindled it fresh and pure from the public hearth at Delphi. Accordingly the commanders of the Hellenes went about straightway and compelled all who were using
5 fire to extinguish it, while Euchidas, who promised to bring the sacred fire with all conceivable speed, went from Platæa to Delphi. There he purified his person by sprinkling himself with the holy water, and crowned himself with laurel. Then he took from the altar the sacred fire and started to run back to Platæa. He reached the place before the sun had set, accomplishing thus a thousand furlongs in one and the same day. He greeted his countrymen, handed them the sacred fire, and straightway fell down, and after a little expired. In admiration of him the Platæans gave him burial in the sanctuary of Artemis *Eucleia*, and inscribed upon his tomb this tetrameter verse :

“Euchidas, to Pytho running, came back here the selfsame day.”

6 Now Eucleia is regarded by most as Artemis, and is so addressed; but some say she was a daughter of Heracles and that Myrto who was daughter of Menœtius and sister of Patroclus, and that, dying in virginity, she received divine honors among the Boeotians and Locrians. For she has an altar and

an image built in every market place, and receives preliminary sacrifices from would-be brides and bridegrooms.

XXI. After this, there was a general assembly of the Hellenes, at which Aristides proposed a decree to the effect that deputies and delegates from all Hellas convene at Platæa every year, and that every fourth year festival games of deliverance be celebrated,— the *Eleutheria* ; also that a confederate Hellenic force be levied, consisting of ten thousand shield, one thousand horse, and one hundred ships, to prosecute the war against the Barbarian ; also that the Platæans be set apart as inviolable and consecrate, that they might sacrifice to Zeus the Deliverer in behalf of Hellas.

The festi-
val com-
memorating
the victory.

These propositions were ratified, and the Platæans² undertook to make funeral offerings annually for the Hellenes who had fallen in battle and lay buried there. And this they do yet unto this day, after the following manner. On the sixteenth of the month Maimacterion (which is the Boeotian Alalcomenius), they celebrate a procession. This is led forth at break of day by a trumpeter sounding the signal for battle ; waggons follow filled with myrtle-wreaths, then comes a black bull, then free-born youths carrying libations of wine and milk in *amphoræ*, and jars of oil and³ myrrh (no slave may put hand to any part of that ministration, because the men thus honored died for freedom) ; and following all, the chief magistrate of Platæa, who may not at other times touch iron or put on any other raiment than white, at this time is

robed in a purple tunic, carries on high a water-jar from the city's archive chamber, and proceeds, sword in hand, through the midst of the city to the graves ; 4 there he takes water from the sacred spring, washes off with his own hands the gravestones, and anoints them with myrrh ; then he slaughters the bull at the funeral pyre, and, with prayers to Zeus and Hermes Terrestrial, summons the brave men who died for Hellas to come to the banquet and its copious draughts of blood ; next he mixes a mixer of wine, drinks, and then pours a libation from it, saying these words : "I drink to the men who died for the freedom of the Hellenes."

These rites, I say, are observed by the Platæans down to this very day.

XXII. After the Athenians returned to their own city, Aristides saw that they desired to receive the more popular form of government. He thought the Aristides moves for a more democratic administration of Athens; the people trust him. people worthy of consideration because of its sturdy valor, and he saw also that it was no longer easy to be forced out of its desires, since it was powerful in arms, and greatly elated by its victories. So he introduced a decree that the administration of the city be the privilege of all classes, and that the archons be chosen from all the Athenians.

2 Themistocles once declared to the people that he had devised a certain measure which could not be revealed to them, though it would be helpful and salutary for the city, and they ordered that Aristides alone should hear what it was and pass

judgment on it. So Themistocles told Aristides that his purpose was to burn the naval station of the confederate Hellenes, for that in this way the Athenians would be greatest and lords of all. Then Aristides came before the people and said of the deed which Themistocles purposed to do, that none other could be more advantageous, and none more unjust. On hearing this, the Athenians ordained that Themistocles cease from his purpose. So fond of justice was the people, and so firmly did the people trust in Aristides.

XXIII. When he was sent out as general along with Cimon to prosecute the war, and saw that Pausanias and the other Spartan commanders were offensive and severe to the allies, he made his own intercourse with them gentle and humane, and induced Cimon to be on easy terms with them and to take an actual part in their campaigns, so that, before the Lacedæmonians were aware, not by means of hoplites or ships or horsemen, but by tact and diplomacy he had stripped them of the leadership. For, well disposed as the Hellenes were toward the Athenians on account of the justice of Aristides and the reasonableness of Cimon, they were made to long for their supremacy still more by the rapacity of Pausanias and his severity.

Aristides is the means of winning the leadership of the Hellenes for Athens.

The commanders of the allies ever met with angry ² harshness at the hands of Pausanias, and the common men he punished with stripes, or by compelling them to stand all day long with an iron anchor on their

shoulders. No one could get bedding or fodder or go down to a spring for water before the Spartans, nay, their servants armed with goads would drive away such as approached. On these grounds Aristides once had it in mind to chide and admonish him, but Pausanias scowled, said he was busy, and would not listen.

3 Subsequently the captains and generals of the Hellenes, and especially the Chians, Samians and Lesbians, came to Aristides and tried to persuade him to assume the leadership and bring over to his support the allies, who had long wanted to be rid of the Spartans and to range themselves anew on the side of the Athenians. He replied that he saw the urgency and the justice of what they proposed, but that to establish Athenian confidence in them some overt act was needed, the doing of which would make it impossible for the multitude to change their allegiance back again.

4 So Uliades the Samian and Antagoras the Chian conspired together, and ran down the trireme of Pausanias off Byzantium, closing in on both sides of it as it was putting out before the line. When Pausanias saw what they had done, he sprang up and wrathfully threatened to show the world in a little while that these men had run down not so much his ship as their own native cities; but they bade him be gone, and be grateful to that fortune which fought in his favor at Platæa; it was because the Hellenes still stood in awe of this, they said, that they did not punish him as he deserved. And finally they went off and joined the Athenians.

Then indeed was the lofty wisdom of the Spartans made manifest in a wonderful way. When they saw that their commanders were corrupted by the great powers intrusted to them, they voluntarily abandoned the leadership and ceased sending out generals for the war, choosing rather to have their citizens discreet and true to their ancestral customs than to have the sway over all Hellas.

XXIV. The Hellenes used to pay a sort of contribution for the war even while the Lacedæmonians had the leadership, but now they wished The assessment made by Aristides. to be assessed equably city by city. So they asked the Athenians for Aristides, and commissioned him to inspect their several territories and revenues, and then to fix the assessments according to each member's worth and ability to pay.

And yet, though he became master of such power,² and though after a fashion Hellas put all her property in his sole hands, poor as he was when he went forth on this mission, he came back from it poorer still, and he made his assessments of moneys not only with purity and justice, but also to the grateful satisfaction and convenience of all concerned. Indeed, as men of old hymned the praises of the age of Cronus, — the golden age, — so did the allies of the Athenians praise the tariff of Aristides, calling it a kind of blessed happening for Hellas, especially as, after a short time, it was doubled and then again trebled.

For the tax which Aristides laid amounted to four³ hundred and sixty talents only; but Pericles must have added almost a third to this, since Thucydides

says that when the war began the Athenians had a revenue of six hundred talents from their allies. And after the death of Pericles the demagogues enlarged it little by little, and at last brought the sum total up to thirteen hundred talents, not so much because the war, by reason of its length and vicissitudes, became extravagantly expensive, as because they themselves led the people off into the distribution of public moneys for spectacular entertainments, and for the erection of images and sanctuaries.

4 So then Aristides had a great and admirable name for his adjustment of the revenues. But Themistocles is said to have ridiculed him, claiming that the praise he got therefor was not fit for a man, but rather for a mere money-wallet. He came off second best, however, in this retort upon the plain speech of Aristides, who had remarked, when Themistocles once declared to him the opinion that the greatest excellence in a general was the anticipation of the plans of his enemies: "That is indeed needful, Themistocles, but the honorable thing, and that which makes the real general, is his mastery over his fingers."

XXV. Aristides did, indeed, bind the Hellenes by an oath, and took oath himself for the Athenians, Conversion of the Confederacy of Delos into the Athenian Empire. The strenuous sway, he bade the Athenians lay poverty of Aristides. solemnly casting iron ingots from the very altars into the sea; but afterwards, when circumstances, forsooth, compelled a more the perjury to his charge, and turn events to their own advantage.

2 And in general, as Theophrastus tells us, while the

man was strictly just in his private relations to his fellow-citizens, in public matters he often acted in accordance with the policy which his country had adopted, feeling that this required considerable injustice. For instance, he says that when the question of removing the moneys of the confederacy from Delos to Athens, contrary to the compacts, was being debated at the instance of the Samians, Aristides declared that it was unjust, but advantageous.

And yet, although he at last established his city in ³ its sway over so many men, he himself abode by his poverty, and continued to be no less content with the reputation he got from being a poor man, than with that based on his trophies of victory. This is clear from the following story.

Callias the Torchbearer was a kinsman of his. This man was prosecuted by his enemies on a capital charge, and after they had brought only moderate accusations against him within the scope of their indictment, they went outside of it and appealed to the judges as follows: "You know Aristides the son of ⁴ Lysimachus," they said, "how he is admired in Hellas; what do you suppose his domestic circumstances are when you see him entering the public assembly in such a scanty cloak as that? Is it not likely that a man who shivers in public goes hungry at home, and is straitened for the other necessities of life? This man, however, Callias, who is the richest man of Athens (and his cousin at that), allows to suffer want with his wife and children, though he has often had service of the man, and many times reaped advantage

5 from his influence with you." But Callias, seeing that his judges were very turbulent at this charge, and bitterly disposed toward him, summoned Aristides and demanded his testimony before the judges that though often proffered aid from him and importuned to accept it, he had refused it, with the answer that it more became him to be proud of his poverty than Callias of his wealth; for many were to be seen who used wealth well or ill, but it was not easy to find a man who endured poverty with a noble spirit; and those only should be ashamed of poverty who
6 could not be otherwise than poor. When Aristides had borne this witness for Callias, there was no one of his hearers who did not go home preferring to be poor with Aristides rather than to be rich with Callias. This story is told by *Æschines the Socratic*.

And Plato maintains that of all those who had great names and reputations at Athens, this man alone was worthy of regard. Themistocles, he says, and Cimon and Pericles, filled the city with porches and moneys and no end of nonsense; but Aristides squared his politics with virtue.

7 There are also strong proofs of his reasonableness to be seen in his treatment of Themistocles. This man he had found to be his foe during almost all his public service, and it was through this man that he was ostracized; but when Themistocles came to the same pass, and when he was under accusation of treason before the city, Aristides remembered no evil; nay, though Alcmeon and Cimon and many others denounced and persecuted the man, Aristides

alone did and said no meanness, nor did he take any advantage of his enemy's misfortune, just as formerly he did not grudge him his prosperity.

XXVI. As touching the death of Aristides, some say he died in Pontus, on an expedition in the public service; others at Athens, of old age, honored and admired by his countrymen. But Craterus the Macedonian tells something like this about the death of the man. After the exile of Themistocles, he says, the people waxed wanton, as it were, and produced a great crop of sycophants, who hounded down the noblest and most influential men, and subjected them to the malice of the multitude, now exalted with its prosperity and power. Among these he says that Aristides also was convicted of bribery, on prosecution of Diophantus of the deme Amphitropé, for having taken money from the Ionians when he was regulating the tributes; and, further, that being unable to pay the judgment, which was fifty *minæ*, he sailed away and died somewhere in Ionia. But Craterus furnishes no documentary proof of this,—no judgment of the court, no decree of indictment,—although he is wont to record such things with all due fulness, and to adduce his authorities.

All the rest, as I may venture to say,—all who rehearse the shortcomings of the people in dealing with their leaders,—compile and descant upon the exile of Themistocles, the imprisonment of Miltiades, the fine of Pericles, the death of Paches in the court room,—he slew himself on the rostrum when he

saw that he was convicted,— and many such a case, and they put into the list the ostracism of Aristides, but of such a condemnation as this for bribery they make no mention whatsoever.

XXVII. Moreover, his tomb is pointed out at Phalerum, and they say the city constructed it for ^{His burial} him, since he did not leave enough to pay ^{and posterity} for his funeral. And they tell how his daughters were married from the prytaneum at the public cost, the city bestowing the dowry for the marriage and voting outright three thousand drachmas to each daughter, while to Lysimachus his son, the people gave one hundred *minæ* in silver, as many acres of vineyard land, and besides this a pension of four drachmas per diem,— all in a bill which was brought in by Alcibiades.

² And further, Lysimachus left a daughter, Polycrité, according to Callisthenes, and the people voted for her a public maintenance, in the style of their Olympic victors.

Again, Demetrius the Phalerean, Hieronymus the Rhodian, Aristoxenus the Musician, and Aristotle (provided the book “On Nobility of Birth” is to be ranked among the genuine works of Aristotle) relate that Myrto, the granddaughter of Aristides, lived in wedlock with Socrates the Sage. He had another woman to wife, but took this one up because her poverty kept her a widow, and she lacked the necessities of life. To these, however, Panætius, in his work on Socrates, has made sufficient reply.

³ And the Phalerean says, in his “Socrates,” that he

remembers a grandson of Aristides, Lysimachus, a very poor man, who made a living by means of a sort of dream-interpreting tablet, his seat being near the so-called Iaccheium. To this man's mother and to her sister he persuaded the people to give, by formal decree, a pension of three obols per diem; though afterwards, in his capacity of sole legislator, he himself assigned a drachma instead of three obols to each of the women.

It is not to be wondered at that the people took⁴ such thought for families in the city, since on learning that the granddaughter of Aristogeiton was living humbly in Lemnos, unmarried because of her poverty, they brought her back to Athens, consorted her with a well-born man, and gave her the estate in Potamus for her dowry. For such humanity and benevolence, of which the city still gives illustrious examples even in my own day, she is justly admired and lauded.

NOTES ON THE *THEMISTOCLES*

NOTES ON THE *THEMISTOCLES*

I. 1. It is probable that the opening sentences of this *Life* have been lost. We may safely infer that they gave a general introduction to this book (or pair) of *Parallel Lives*, the *Themistocles and Camillus*, and the reasons for thus pairing them, exactly as Plutarch did in the opening chapters of the *Cimon and Lucullus*, the next book in the series to be written. The first book in the series was probably the *Epaminondas and Scipio Major*, the loss of which we especially lament, not only because Plutarch shows great love and admiration for Epaminondas, whom he regarded, with fond Bœotian patriotism, as the greatest Hellene, but particularly because he undoubtedly opened the book with a general introduction to the whole series.

The question of the genuinenesss of the formal "Comparisons," which close eighteen of the twenty-two books of *Parallel Lives*, is not, perhaps, an open one; but there can be no question that when more or less elaborate comparisons between the subjects chosen for biography are drawn out in the introduction, as in the *Cimon and Lucullus*, or the *Phocion and Cato*, they render such formal comparisons at the close superfluous. We do not miss the formal comparison which we do not find at the close of the *Phocion and Cato*, and we do not need, nor do we gain perceptibly by, the formal comparisons at the close of the *Cimon and Lucullus* and of the ten other books or pairs of *Lives* which, like that, have an all-sufficient comparison made in the introduction, and one of far higher artistic form.

Such an introductory comparison probably preceded the sentence which now opens the *Themistocles*,—a sentence contrasting the comparatively obscure birth of Themistocles

with the more illustrious birth of Camillus, to match whom Plutarch had chosen Themistocles. For the introductions to the *Cimon and Lucullus*, and to the *Demosthenes and Cicero*, not to mention considerations of a general nature, make it plain that Plutarch usually selected his great Roman first for biography, and then his great Greek to match.

Neocles: Herodotus (vii. 143) introduces Themistocles into his great story thus: "Now there was a certain Athenian, recently come into prominence, whose name was Themistocles, and that of his father, Neocles." Comparative obscurity of birth is clearly implied. See the note on x. 2.

A Phrearrhian by deme: after the expulsion of the "tyrants" in 510 B.C., and the democratic reforms of Cleisthenes, Attica, with its area of about seven hundred square miles, was divided into one hundred or more districts, of which the ten comprising the actual city of Athens corresponded closely to the American "ward," the others to the New England "township," and both to the English "parish." To one of these districts, or *demes*, every citizen of Athens, *i. e.* every free-born inhabitant of Attica, belonged.

There were also ten tribes, each made up of a number of widely separated demes. The names of these tribes, derived from those of certain heroes and mythical personages, were Erechtheis, Ægeis, Pandionis, Leontis, Acamantis, Æneis Cecropis, Hippothoöntis, Aiantis, and Antiopis. On this division into tribes much of the machinery of the Athenian constitution was based.

An Athenian citizen, then, was individualized first by his own name, then by that of his father, then of his deme, and then of his tribe. Thus: Themistocles, the son of Neocles, of the deme Phrearrhi, of the tribe Leontis. Plutarch is our sole authority for the deme and tribe of Themistocles (*cf. c. v. 3*, and *Aristides*, v. 2), but he evidently had documentary evidence of high value. See the Introduction, p. 42 (Craterus).

An alien: *i. e.* not fully Athenian born. Under Solon's legislation both parents must be Athenians to give the child the fullest rights of citizenship, though the law was not

always enforced with the same strictness. Cleisthenes restored aliens to full rights of citizenship. Cimon's mother was a Thracian princess (Plutarch's *Cimon*, iv. 1). Pericles, in 451, restored the law of Solon to force.

Epitaph: the evidently famous epigram which Plutarch here cites is probably of late, and certainly of unknown origin. It can be traced through Athenæus (xiii. p. 576 C) to Amphicrates, an Athenian rhetorician of dubious character and perverse literary style, who died in exile (about 70 b. c.) at the court of Tigranes and Cleopatra, as Plutarch tells us in his *Lucullus*, xxii., going out of his way to do so "for the sake of Athens."

That the name "Abrotonon," at least, if not the epigram, was well known in Plutarch's time, is clear also from his *Amatorius*, c. ix. (*Morals*, p. 753 D): "But, you will say, since it may be a man's misfortune to be so hampered" (*i. e.* by a shrewish wife), "would it not be better to marry some Thracian Abrotonon or some Milesian Bacchis, whom he can get in the market for money and a handful of nuts?"

In Greek sepulchral inscriptions, the dead are often represented speaking to the passer-by in the first person.

I. 2. **Phanias, Neanthes:** for these historians, and Plutarch's indebtedness to them, see the Introduction, pp. 43, 46.

The truth probably is that nothing whatever was handed down and surely known about the mother of Themistocles. The fact that Themistocles was Archon *Eponymous* at Athens makes it likely that he was a full citizen. It was the malicious ingenuity of late tradition that made him an alien, and invented these conflicting details about his mother.

Cynosarges: there were two other famous gymnasia outside the walls of the city,— the Academy, and the Lyceum. The Greek gymnasia comprised features of the modern park, library, club, and gymnasium (in the narrow sense of a place for physical exercise).

He is thought: *i. e.* by those who tell the story. Plutarch probably gets it from Phanias. It has not the slightest claim to belief.

I. 3. **Lycomidæ**: a priestly family, which enjoyed privileges and functions at the great Eleusinian Mysteries. They probably cultivated the worship of Demeter, the great deity at Eleusis, in this chapel-shrine at Phlya also. Phlya was a deme of the Mesogæa, or midland district of Attica, east of Athens.

Simonides has stated: perhaps in the great Salamis-hymn from which Plutarch quotes distinct laudation of Themistocles in *c. xv. 2*, though Bergk is confident that it was in an “epigram composed by order of Themistocles” (*Poet. Lyr. Græci*, iii. p. 529), presumably an inscription made in the shrine itself. At any rate it is contemporary evidence of the highest order for the pious liberality of Themistocles, whether it establishes his kinship to the Lycomidæ or not. See the Introduction, p. 29.

Plutarch clearly thinks of Themistocles, in spite of this last item, as of comparatively humble birth and slender means. And this would seem to be the impression made by all the best contemporary evidence, and by the testimony, direct and indirect, of Herodotus and Thucydides. Themistocles was of obscure, but not ignoble origin. This is all that need be meant by the epithet of “generosus” which Nepos applies to him. In the *Comparison of Aristides and Cato* Plutarch speaks of Themistocles as “neither of brilliant lineage nor of great possessions” (*c. i.*).

II. 1. **Sagacious**: sagacity, or “acuteness,” as Jowett translates the Greek word, is the native quality of Themistocles on which Thucydides lays most stress in his noble eulogy of the man (*i. 138*): “For Themistocles was a man whose natural force was unmistakable; this was the quality for which he was distinguished above all other men; from his own native acuteness, and without any study either before or at the time, he was the ablest judge of the course to be pursued in a sudden emergency, and could best divine what was likely to happen in the remotest future.” This is the protest of the great historian against the claims of Herodotus, Stesimbrotus, and the paid teachers

of "wisdom" at Athens, that the wisdom of Themistocles was acquired from this, that, or the other teacher.

II. 2. **Showed indifference:** after the best manuscript and the Sintenis (Teubner) text; the Bekker (Tauchnitz) text corrects to mean "showed attentiveness."

II. 3. The taunt of Themistocles for lack of elegant culture, and his retort, is the only material in the whole chapter which can be with any safety regarded as authentic. This can be traced back to Ion of Chios, a brilliant contemporary of Sophocles and Pericles, though younger than they. See the Introduction, p. 31. Plutarch quotes the story freely from Ion in the *Cimon*, ix.: "Ion says that on coming, a mere youth, from Chios to Athens, he dined with Cimon at the house of Laomedon, and that after eating was over and drinking had begun" (*i. e.* after the cloth had been removed), "the hero was invited to sing, and did so very agreeably, and was praised by the guests as a more cultured man than Themistocles, who declared that he had not learned to sing, much less to play the zither, but understood how to make a city great and rich." By the phrase "he knows not how to play the zither," in his *Wasps*, 959, Aristophanes characterizes a good plain man who knows how to read and write, but has no elegant accomplishments. The comedy was given in 422 B.C.

This story, then, may well be taken to prove that Themistocles did not have what afterwards became the fashionable education at Athens, and on the basis of this fact the details about his school days, like those in the first two paragraphs of this chapter, were probably invented.

Stesimbrotus: see the Introduction, pp. 32 f. The testimony is malignant, connecting the arch-traitor Themistocles with arch-atheists. For both Anaxagoras and Melissus would be ranked as atheists by the readers whom Stesimbrotus tried to please.

Anaxagoras: a native of Clazomenæ in Ionian Asia Minor. He was born about 500 B.C., and came to Athens about 460, not far from the time of Themistocles' death in

Magnesia. He had great influence on advanced thinkers in Athens like Pericles and Euripides, but was so unpopular with the common thinkers that the enemies of Pericles easily got him banished about 430, and he died at Lampsacus in 428. Among many curious speculations about physical phenomena, two of his doctrines wonderfully anticipated some of the noblest phases of modern thought: the doctrine of the "Nous," or Intelligence, as disposer and cause of all the movements of eternal matter; and the doctrine of "rotation," in consequence of which the heavenly bodies were separated from the mass of matter, and took up their orbits of motion (our "Nebular Hypothesis"). "Whatever things were to be, and whatever things were, as many as are now, and whatever things shall be, all these Mind arranged in order; and it arranged that rotation, according to which now rotate stars and sun and moon and air and æther, now that they are separated. Rotation itself caused the separation" (Fragment 6, in Fairbanks, *First Philosophers of Greece*, p. 241). Plato makes his Socrates say (*Phædo*, 97 C): "Then I heard some one who had a book of Anaxagoras, as he said, out of which he read that mind was the disposer and cause of all, and I was quite delighted at this notion, which appeared admirable." Socrates goes on, however, to accuse Anaxagoras of inconsistency in the application of his theory. Another reference of the Platonic Socrates to Anaxagoras is more familiar (*Apology*, 26 D), when, in reply to his accuser Meletus, who has assured the judges that Socrates does not believe in the godhead of the sun and moon, but says that the sun is stone, and the moon earth, Socrates is made to say: "Friend Meletus, you think that you are accusing Anaxagoras; and you have but a bad opinion of the judges, if you fancy them ignorant to such a degree as not to know that these doctrines are found in the books of Anaxagoras the Clazomenian, who is full of them. And these are the doctrines which the youth are said to learn of Socrates, when there are not unfrequently exhibitions of them at the theatre (price of admission one drachma at the most); and they might cheaply purchase them, and

laugh at Socrates if he pretends to father such remarkable views."

Melissus the physicist: a native of Samos. He was a disciple of the great pantheistic philosopher Parmenides, and, like him, denied the validity of all evidence of the senses.

In 440 B.C., Samos revolted from Athens, and Pericles went out with a large fleet to subdue the island, and prevent other members of the league from joining in her revolt. The Samian fleet was defeated, and the city invested by land and blockaded by sea. During a temporary absence of Pericles, however, with part of the blockading fleet, "the Samians made a sudden sally, and attacking the naval station of the Athenians, which was unprotected, destroyed the guard-ships and engaged and defeated the other vessels which put out to meet them. During some fourteen days they were masters of the sea about their own coasts, and carried in and out whatever they pleased. But when Pericles returned, they were again closely blockaded. . . . The Samians made a feeble attempt at a sea-fight, but soon they were unable to resist, and after nine months were forced to surrender" (*Thucydides*, i. 116, 117).

Plutarch makes Melissus the commander of this "sudden sally" of the Samians (*Pericles*, xxvi. 1), and quotes Aristotle as his authority for a previous defeat of Pericles himself by the same "philosopher then commanding Samos." There is no good reason to doubt this testimony of Plutarch, especially as he cites Aristotle again (*Pericles*, xxviii. 1) as one of his authorities for this Samian war, besides Thucydides, Ephorus, and Duris of Samos (see the Introduction, pp. 35, 39, 44).

Careless in chronology: technically, this objection of Plutarch does not hold, as it is, of course, possible that Themistocles came into contact with both Anaxagoras and Melissus during his exile in Asia Minor; but in the main issue it is valid. "Pupil" or "disciple" of either, in the sense in which Stesimbrotus used the words, Themistocles cannot have been. The purpose of the statement was malicious.

II. 4. **Mnesiphilus the Phrearrian**: in Herodotus (viii. 57, 58), he is simply Mnesiphilus "an Athenian." After Themistocles had been driven by his enemies to take refuge at the Persian court, all his previous history received a new interpretation at the hands of those who hated him. Even his greatest achievements were belittled, and his credit for them diminished. Thus, the decision of the allied fleet to make their sea-fight at Salamis rather than the Isthmus, a decision universally recognized as the main cause of the glorious victory over the Persians, was due, according to the malicious version of affairs popular at Athens when Herodotus wrote, not to Themistocles, in the first instance, but to an adviser of his, Mnesiphilus, a shadowy, if not a fictitious personage. To this malicious story of Herodotus, as well as to the charges of Stesimbrotus, Thucydides probably had reference in the passage cited above on ii. 1. As philosophical schools developed and multiplied at Athens, and the traditions of learning became more and more formal, the temptation was irresistible to assign a man of such marvellous powers as Themistocles to some school or sect of philosophy. A passage in the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon (iv. 2, 2) shows that it was a favorite theme for debate among the young men of the schools whether Themistocles won his pre-eminence through intercourse with some "sophist," or by virtue of his native endowments.

Either Plutarch himself, a pupil of an Athenian philosopher, or some authority unknown to us whom he is here using, conceived the happy idea of constructing a sect for Themistocles (who antedated sects and schools at Athens) out of the Herodotean Mnesiphilus and Solon the Wise. In the *Morals*, p. 795 C (*Whether an Aged Man ought to meddle in State Affairs*, c. xxiii.), Plutarch makes Mnesiphilus a reformer of the wayward and ill-famed Themistocles, as Aristides was of Cimon; and in the *Banquet of the Seven Wise Men*, sometimes attributed to Plutarch (c. x., = *Morals*, p. 154 C), Mnesiphilus is one of the minor guests, "a companion and disciple of Solon."

II. 5. **Uneven and unstable**: gross excesses with wine and women ("Wein, Weib," but not "Gesang"!) are credited to Themistocles in his youth by Athenaeus (xii. p. 533; xiii. p. 576), on the dubious authority of Idomeneus of Lampsacus. See the Introduction, p. 44. All such stories were probably invented after the century in which Themistocles lived; some on the basis of jealousy or hatred of Themistocles the man, some by inference backward from famous incidents in his life. So the charming story in the next paragraph (6) to which Plutarch good naturally flies for refuge as he discards the malignant inventions which would make Themistocles a disinherited matricide, was clearly invented after Themistocles had created the fleet of triremes which saved Hellas.

III. 1. **Ariston**: also of Ceos, the home of the beautiful Stesilaüs. See the Introduction, p. 43. The same love-story is used by Plutarch in the *Aristides*, ii. 3.

III. 3. **Still a young man**: and still of dissipated habits, as the "customary drinking parties" below implies. At the time, therefore, when Plutarch wrote this life of Themistocles, a time when he was much more under the influence of Herodotus, Thucydides, and contemporary witnesses to the career of his hero than when he wrote the much later life of Aristides, he thinks of his hero as roused from a worthless and aimless life of youthful dissipation by the victory of Marathon. It is a radically different conception of Themistocles which he gives us in the *Aristides*, ii.-v. Here a long period of political rivalry with Aristides precedes the battle of Marathon, and the rivals fight bravely in the battle, and, naturally, side by side. Herodotus, in his classic story of Marathon (vi. 102-131), has never a word of either Aristides or Themistocles, from which it may safely be inferred that there was no authentic tradition in his time of their participation in the battle. In the next century, however, when the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides were rewritten in the interests of rhetoric and oratory by Ephorus and Theopompus, an irresistible impulse was felt to bring

the heroes of Salamis into some connection with Marathon also. This tendency was carried so far that the writer under whose influence especially Plutarch wrote the *Aristides*, — Idomeneus of Lampsacus, — has his Aristides actually usurp the rôle at Marathon which Herodotus gives to the polemarch Callimachus (see the introductory note on the *Aristides*, v.). If Aristides took a prominent part at Marathon, then, since Themistocles was his constant rival, Themistocles must have done so too. Hence the attractive picture in the *Aristides*, v. 1, 2. It is as attractive as the picture given us by Aelian (*Varia Historia*, iii. 21), of the boy Themistocles refusing to clear the street for the tyrant Pisistratus, but no more authentic.

The earlier attitude of Plutarch, then, toward the question when Themistocles began his great career, is the more correct, and makes it impossible to accept the year 493 B. C. as the date of the archonship of Themistocles (*Thucydides* i. 93, 3), but rather 482. See Kenyon and Sandys on Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, xxii.

This story of Themistocles and the "trophy of Miltiades" is a great favorite with Plutarch. He uses it four times at least elsewhere, and later writers also were fond of it. Its source cannot be fixed, but it has necessarily no element of malice in it. Like the charming story which closes chapter ii., it betrays itself as invented after Themistocles had won Salamis.

III. 4. This paragraph may be regarded as Plutarch's amplification of *Thucydides*, i. 14, 3: "Even the ships which the Athenians built quite recently at the instigation of Themistocles, when they were at war with the Æginetans and *in expectation of the Barbarian*, — even these ships with which they fought at Salamis were not completely decked." The italicized words of Thucydides are plainly controversial of *Herodotus*, vii. 144, 1: "Themistocles had before this given a counsel which prevailed very seasonably. The Athenians, having a large sum of money in their treasury, the produce of the mines at Laureum, were about to share

it among the citizens, who would have received ten drachmas apiece, when Themistocles persuaded them to forbear the distribution, and build with the money two hundred ships for the war; *by which he meant the war with the Æginetans*. For it was the breaking out of this war which saved Hellas at that time. It compelled the Athenians to become a maritime power." The prescience of Themistocles is belittled or ignored by Herodotus, affirmed by Thucydides, and upheld by Plutarch, who has adopted the Thucydidean, as contrasted with the Herodotean attitude toward Themistocles.

IV. 1, 2. With these two paragraphs compare the citations from Herodotus and Thucydides in the preceding note.

IV. 1. **dared:** Thucydides emphasizes the courage shown by Themistocles in this new naval policy: "For he first dared to say that 'they must make the sea their domain,' and he lost no time in laying the foundations of their empire" (i. 93, 4).

The war against Ægina: Athens could rise to her supremacy only by crushing this "eyesore of the Piræus," as Pericles is said to have called it. At the opening of the fifth century B. C., Ægina was mistress of Hellenic waters, a wealthy colonizing state, and a seat of art. The struggle between this maritime state and Athens began as early as 507 B. C. (*Herodotus*, vi. 71-93), but was interrupted by the invasions of Darius (Marathon) and Xerxes (Salamis), when the Æginetans, had they been less patriotic, might have had powerful foreign aid against their dangerous rival. "The Greeks who were well affected to the Grecian cause, having assembled in one place" (the congress at the Isthmus in the spring of 480 B. C.), "and there consulted together, and interchanged pledges with each other, agreed that, before any other step was taken, the feuds and enmities which existed between the different nations should first of all be appeased. Many such there were; but one was of more importance than the rest, namely, the war which was still going on between the Athenians and the Æginetans" (*Herodotus*, vii. 145, 1). The Æginetans furnished thirty ships at the battle of Salamis.

mis, and of their conduct there Herodotus says (viii. 93, 1) : “The Greeks who gained the greatest glory of all in the sea-fight of Salamis were the *Æginetans*, and after them the Athenians.” The final struggle between Athens and *Ægina* came between the years 460 and 455 b. c., and ended in the complete triumph of Athens. “The *Æginetans* came to terms with the Athenians, dismantling their walls, surrendering their ships, and agreeing to pay tribute for the future” (*Thucydides*, i. 108, 4, and 105, 2). At the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war in 431 b. c., “the Athenians expelled the *Æginetans* and their families from *Ægina*, alleging that they had been the main cause of the war. The island lies close to the Peloponnesus, and they thought it safer to send thither settlers of their own, an intention which they shortly afterwards carried out” (*Thucydides*, ii. 27, 1). Some of the exiles were given a home in Lacedæmonian territory, the rest were scattered throughout Hellas. The former were captured and put to death by the Athenians in 424 b. c. (*Thucydides*, iv. 56, 57); as many of the latter as could be collected together were restored to their island by Lysander after the fall of Athens in 404 (*Xenophon, Hellenica*, ii. 2, 9), but the great spirit of the little state was forever broken.

IV. 2. **An hundred triremes:** Herodotus says two hundred, in the passage cited on iii. 4. With that account of Herodotus it is interesting to compare Aristotle’s version of the same incident, in the *Constitution of Athens*, c. xxii.: “In the third year thereafter, when Nicodemus was archon” (*i. e.* in 484-3 b. c.), “when the mines in Maroneia” (a part of the mining district, like Laureum) “were discovered, and the city had a surplus of an hundred talents from their operation, certain ones counselled the people to make a division of the money among themselves. But Themistocles opposed this, not telling what use he was going to make of the sum, but proposing that the city lend to one hundred of the richest Athenians a talent apiece, and then, should their expenditure of the money be satisfactory, that the city assume the outlay, but otherwise that it take back the entire sum from

the borrowers. He got the money on these terms, and built therewith an hundred triremes, each of the hundred borrowers building one trireme, and with these they fought the sea-fight at Salamis against the Barbarians."

It is clear that the oligarchical authority whom Aristotle is here following has quite needlessly made a "stratagem" on the part of Themistocles out of what was doubtless straightforward parliamentary procedure, as Herodotus has represented it. The great stratagem of Themistocles at Salamis made later writers anxious that he should accomplish everything by stratagem. A good example of this tendency will be seen in the version which Clidemus gives of the manning of the Athenian fleet before Salamis (*Themistocles*, x. 4), and Clidemus may well be Aristotle's authority, or some later antiquarian writer basing on Clidemus. But Aristotle gives one hundred as the number of the triremes built by the measure of Themistocles, agreeing therein with Plutarch. The same number is given also by Nepos. It is undoubtedly correct, and Herodotus is in error. He was led into the error naturally by considering the final total of Athenian ships at the battle of Salamis, three years after this measure of Themistocles, during which years also triremes were undoubtedly built.

IV. 3. To quote Plato's words: the passage referred to is in the *Laws*, iv., p. 706, where the Athenian Stranger, hoping that the ideal state which he and his friends were constructing would not be able to imitate any maritime enemy in building fleets, instances the ancient Athenians harassed by the Cretan Minos: "but he, as we know, was a great naval potentate, who compelled the inhabitants of Attica to pay him a cruel tribute; and in those days they had no ships of war as they now have, nor was the country filled with ship timber, and therefore they could not readily build them. Hence neither could they learn how to imitate their enemy at sea, or become sailors themselves, and in this way directly repel their enemies. Better for them to have lost many times over their seven youths, than that forces of steadfast hoplites

should have been turned into sailors, and accustomed to leap quickly on shore, and again to hurry back to their ships; or should have fancied that there was no disgrace in not awaiting the attack of an enemy and dying boldly; and that there were good reasons, and plenty of them, for a man throwing away his arms, and betaking himself to flight; which is not dishonorable, as people say, at certain times. This is the language of naval warfare, and is anything but worthy of extraordinary praise. For we should not teach bad habits, least of all to the best part of the citizens."

Plato sees accomplished what Aristides, the opponent of the exclusively maritime policy of Themistocles, feared, namely, the conversion of a sturdy agricultural people into a versatile commercial and maritime people. If the ideal city be eighty stadia distant from the sea, and surrounded by fairly productive country, so as to need no imports, "then there is some hope that your citizens may be virtuous: had you been on the sea, and well provided with harbors and an importing rather than a producing country, some mighty savior would have been needed, and lawgivers more than mortal, if you were ever to have a chance of preserving your state from degeneracy and discordance of manners. But there is great comfort in the eighty stadia; although even then the sea is too near, especially if, as you say, the harbours are so good. Still we must be satisfied. The sea is pleasant enough as a daily companion, but has also a bitter and brackish quality; filling the streets with merchants and shopkeepers, and begetting in the souls of men uncertain and unfaithful ways,—making the state unfriendly and unfaithful both to her own citizens, and also to other nations" (*Laws*, iv., pp. 704, 705).

This accusation: not taken from Plato; possibly a paraphrase of some comic poet's jibes, or, more probably, from Stesimbrotus.

Opposition of Miltiades: the language implies parliamentary opposition. Stesimbrotus may have said that the naval policy of Themistocles was opposed to the military

policy of Miltiades, who won his fame with "steadfast hoplites," but Miltiades did not live long enough (*ob.* 489 B.C.) to oppose this particular measure of Themistocles, namely, the devotion of surplus state moneys to the building of triremes, which, more than all else, made Athens a maritime state. Either Plutarch cites Stesimbrotus wrongly, or, if he does not, Stesimbrotus himself was wrong (see the Introduction, pp. 32 f.).

IV. 4. Let the philosopher investigate: referring to the passages in Plato just cited, and other philosophical discussions of the theme, which was a favorite.

Xerxes himself: Plutarch is much influenced in these and the following words by the language which Thucydides puts into the mouth of an Athenian embassy, replying to malignant attacks upon Athens by Corinthian delegates to an assembly of the allies of Sparta held in 432 B.C. The history of Athens is thus passed in hostile and loyal review. "We tell you," the Athenian embassy declares to the Lacedæmonian assembly, "that we, first and alone, dared to engage with the Barbarian at Marathon, and that, when he came again, being too weak to defend ourselves by land, we and our whole people embarked on shipboard and shared with the other Hellenes in the victory of Salamis. Thereby he was prevented from sailing to the Peloponnesus and ravaging city after city; for against so mighty a fleet how could you have helped one another? He himself is the best witness of our words; for when he was once defeated at sea, he felt that his power was gone and quickly retreated with the greater part of his army" (i., 73, 4 and 5).

To obstruct their pursuit: a naïve judgment, surely. Athenian tradition, as represented by Herodotus, greatly exaggerated the fugitive element in the retreat of Xerxes. The campaign of Mardonius was carefully planned for the year following the naval defeat at Salamis, and was an aggressive campaign, for the prosecution of which the flower of the Great King's land forces were picked out.

Plato has his Athenian Stranger reply to the statement "we Cretans are in the habit of saying that the battle of Salamis was the salvation of Hellas," as follows: "Why, yes; and that is an opinion which is widely spread both among Hellenes and Barbarians. But Megillus and I say, rather, that the battle of Marathon was the beginning, and the battle of Plataea the completion of the great deliverance, and that these battles made the Hellenes better; whereas the sea-fights of Salamis and Artemisium — for I may as well put them both together — made them no better, if I may say so without offence about the battles which helped to save us" (*Laws*, iv., p. 707).

There are also some striking words put by Plato into the mouth of Socrates (*Gorgias*, pp. 518, 519), which show Plato's attitude toward the democratic tendencies inaugurated by Themistocles: "You praise the men who feasted the citizens and satisfied their desires, and people say that they have made the city great, not seeing that the ulcerated and swollen condition of the State is to be attributed to these elder statesmen; for they have filled the city full of harbours and docks and walls and revenues and all that" (see Plutarch's *Aristides*, xxv. 6), "and have left no room for justice and temperance. And when the crisis of the disorder comes, the people will blame the advisers of the hour, and applaud Themistocles and Cimon and Pericles, who are the real authors of their calamities."

V. The anecdotes in this chapter were probably culled from various sources, not now to be certainly determined. They are mutually contradictory, as were those of his youth in chapter ii. Only one, the story of his dramatic victory, can lay claim to belief. The Olympia gossip may have been manufactured on the basis of the Isthmian gossip of Timocreon of Rhodes in c. xxi. 2. See the note there, and also the Introduction, pp. 30 f. The first Simonides story is in a vein quite opposite to that told in *Aristides*, ii. 4, where special contrast with Aristides "the Just" was desired.

V. 1. **Sell the food sent in:** Chamæleon of Heracleia, a disciple of Aristotle, relates this of Simonides at the court of Hiero of Syracuse (*Athenæus*, xiv. 656 D).

A wooden horse: a far-fetched allusion to the famous wooden horse filled with armed Greeks, which the Trojans themselves introduced into their doomed city.

V. 3. **Olympia:** where the great five-day athletic festival was held every fifth year. The story would fit best the festival of 488 b.c. Not only rich victors, but rich visitors established there luxurious temporary quarters, and entertained lavishly the multitudes of less fortunate sight-seers. The gathering became a vast fair. In chapter xvii. 3, Plutarch gives the tradition of a visit of Themistocles to Olympia in 476, when he was at the acme of his glory.

V. 4. **A victory with tragedies:** there was nothing necessarily ostentatious in this. The expenses of dramatic representations were borne by volunteers from among the wealthiest citizens, it is true, but it was often practically obligatory to volunteer. “The duty of a *choregus* was to provide a chorus for the dramatic and lyric contests held at the Panathenæa, Dionysia, Thargelia, Prometheia, and Hephaestia. The cost consisted in paying and maintaining the chorus during its preparation for the competition, providing its costumes, and paying a *chorodidascalus* to train it” (Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiquities*, p. 510). It was expected that the *choregus* would commemorate his victory, if he were a victor, by an appropriate inscription. “The memorials of victory erected by the *choregi* to the dramatic choruses appear to have taken the form of tablets, differing in style and costliness according to the wealth and taste of the individuals. For instance, Themistocles, after his victory with a tragic chorus, erected a ‘tablet’ in honour of the event, as also did Thrasippus after his victory in the comic contests. It is a trait in the character of the mean man in Theophrastus, that when he has been successful with a tragic chorus, he erects merely a wooden scroll in commemoration of the victory” (Haigh, *Attic Theatre*, p. 53, 2d ed. 61). Such

choregic inscriptions as this of Themistocles served as sources for Aristotle in the compilation of his two books on the Dionysiac contests. To these books, or their contents, Plutarch must have had access. See Haigh, *ibid.*, pp. 63 f. (2d ed. 65 f.), and the note on *Aristides*, i. 2.

Phrynicus: the great forerunner and predecessor of Æschylus, whose first dramatic victory was won in 512 b. c., and whose choral songs were popular with elderly Athenians when Aristophanes was winning victories toward the close of the fifth century. The victory here recorded was probably won with the *Phœnissæ*, a play which celebrated especially the great victory of Salamis, for which, at the time (476, when Adeimantus was archon), Themistocles was given the chief credit. It is probable that the play of the *Persians*, by Æschylus, brought out four years later (472), was written, in part at least, in order to bring into more prominence the services of Aristides at Salamis, and also the battle of Plataea, where Themistocles took no part whatever. See the Introduction, p. 30.

Arbitrator: in this capacity Aristides, as might be expected, was even more famous. Plutarch, *Aristides*, iv. 1; vii. 1.

And so: *i. e.* relying on his general popularity, he ventured on great plainness of speech with a man so famous as Simonides. See the Introduction, pp. 29 f.

An improper request: the story illustrates not only the readiness and boldness of Themistocles' speech, but the greed attributed to Simonides, first by his great rival, Pindar, and then by later writers.

V. 5. To abuse the Corinthians: the Corinthians took needless umbrage at a passage in one of the poems of Simonides which declared that Troy had no fault to find with the Corinthians for fighting against her, since her great Lycian ally, Glaucus, was of ancient Corinthian lineage (Bergk, *Poet. Lyri. Græci*, iii. p. 412). This was really a poetical compliment to the mythical fame of the Corinthians, but was wrested by them into the thought that the Lycian allies of

the Trojans more than compensated them for the enmity of contemporary Corinth. Aristotle (*Rhet.*, i. 6) explains that the Corinthians were vexed because the words of Simonides implied that their enemies had no praise for their valor. It was probably a literary *faux pas* on the part of Simonides, neatly incorporated into the pleasantry here attributed to Themistocles, which thrusts alike at the literary maladroitness and the vanity of the singer who wanted to be all things to all Hellenes.

Removed by ostracism: the technical phrase for the removal from political activity, for a period of ten years, of a political leader thought by a majority of at least six thousand of his fellow-citizens to be endangering the best interests of the state. Plutarch comments on the institution in *Aristides*, vii. Aristotle (*Constitution of Athens*, xxii. 7) tells us that the banishment of Aristides was nearly coincident with the naval bill of Themistocles (483-2 B.C.).

VI. 1. **The Mede was descending**: from Sardis to the Hellespont, in the spring of 480 B.C.

All the rest: *i. e.* all the other generals, ten in all, elected annually. The choice of a general-in-chief was to be made now from this number. Compare the *Aristides*, viii. 1: "when Themistocles was general with sole powers;" also *c. xi. 1.*

They say: Plutarch is our sole authority for this Epicydes story, and the source from which he took it is unknown. It became the fashion for late and malevolent tradition to have the greatest achievements of Themistocles the result of treachery or venality. See chapters vii. 3 and x. 4 of this biography. From chapter xix. 1, we see that so reputable a historian as Theopompos must resort to the charge of bribery to explain the marvellous success of Themistocles as special envoy at Sparta. Epicydes is otherwise unknown.

VI. 2. This story of Themistocles and the interpreter is clearly a late compilation and blend of elements found in the apocryphal story which Herodotus tells (vii. 32, 131-7)

of the treatment by Athens and Sparta of the envoys of Darius. These came demanding earth and water as tokens of submission. So the Athenians threw theirs into a pit (*barathrum*), and the Spartans threw theirs into a well, bidding them get from thence what they demanded. Xerxes, warned by the fate of the envoys of his father Darius, sent none to Athens and Sparta.

Herodotus knows what special punishment befell individual Spartans for this breach of the law of heralds, but cannot think of any such in the case of the Athenians. Later tradition, however, readily supplied the lack. It was Miltiades who was specially responsible for the murder of the envoys at Athens, and his miserable end must have been due to this impiety (*Pausanias*, iii. 12, 7).

Ephorus, ignoring Herodotus, has Xerxes also send envoys to Athens (*Diodorus*, xi. 2, 3). This *laudator* of Themistocles may very well have had his hero now play the rôle of Miltiades ten years before. Themistocles must actually outdo Miltiades in having even the interpreter who served the envoys put to death for prostituting the language of freemen !

VI. 3. **Arthmius of Zeleia**: this case was so often cited by the orators to show degenerate Athenians how their fathers despised foreign money, that the actual features of it became gradually distorted, although the decree of the people against Arthmius was inscribed on a bronze slab and set up on the acropolis. Here it doubtless stood when Demosthenes said (ix. 41 ff.): "But that in the past the case was just the opposite, I will show you, not with words of my own, but by citing an inscription of our fathers, which they inscribed on a bronze slab and set up on the acropolis. 'Arthmius,' it says, 'the son of Pythonax, of Zeleia, shall be an outlaw and an enemy of the people of Athens and their allies, himself and his family.' Then the inscription gives the reason for this: 'because he brought the gold of the Medes into Peloponnesus.' Such is the inscription. Consider now, by the gods ! what, pray, was the purpose of the Athenians who then so acted, or what their sense of dignity ? They made

a certain Zeleian, Arthmius, a subject of the Great King (for Zeleia is in Asia), because in the service of his master he brought gold into Peloponnesus, not to Athens, an enemy of theirs by public inscription, and of their allies, himself and his family, and outlaws. . . . They,—those forefathers of ours,—thought it their duty to watch over the safety of all the Hellenes; otherwise, had they not held this opinion, they would not have cared whether anybody was purchasing and corrupting people in Peloponnesus."

The repeated reference to "the allies" of Athens throws the time of the decree down into a period when Themistocles was no longer in power, if, indeed, in Athens. He could not have been the author of the decree. Some *laudator* like Ephorus, however, may well have attributed to him so glorious a measure. The decree is best brought into connection with the events described by Thucydides (i. 109. 2, 3): "The Athenians and their allies were still in Egypt, where they carried on the war with varying fortune. At first they were masters of the country. The King sent to Lacedaemon Megabazus, a Persian, who was well supplied with money, in the hope that he might persuade the Peloponnesians to invade Attica, and so draw off the Athenians from Egypt. He had no success; the money was being spent and nothing done; so, with what remained of it, he found his way back to Asia." Arthmius, a Greek of Zeleia in the Troad, proxenus or consul of his native city at Athens, may well have been one of the agents of Megabazus, or may have had an independent mission similar to his. The time of the episode was somewhere between 460 and 455 b. c., and there is excellent reason for believing that Cimon was mover of the decree. See the Introduction, p. 42 (Busolt, ii. p. 653, n.).

VI. 4. Putting a stop to Hellenic wars: this work of peacemaking is ascribed by Herodotus, in the passage cited on iv. 1, to the delegates of the Hellenic states assembled at the Isthmus in the spring of 480 b. c. Themistocles may, of course, have been prominent in the work, but it is one of the tendencies of historical tradition to individualize general

action. Ephorus, especially, likes to assign to the individual efforts of Themistocles what was accomplished by the Hellenes together.

Cheileos the Arcadian: this is probably a vague literary reminiscence of Plutarch, or, perhaps, an unauthorized combination by some unknown source of his. In the exceedingly doubtful story of Herodotus (ix. 9), it is Chileiūs of Tegea who prevails upon the reluctant Spartans to send an army out of the Peloponnesus to oppose Mardonius,—a detraction from the credit due the Spartans, as the Mnesiphilus story (see the note on ii. 4) detracted from the credit due Themistocles.

VII. 1, 2. With these vague and general statements, compare *Herodotus*, vii. 173-5, 161; viii. 2, 3. The chronology of Plutarch is especially vague, and much is attributed by him to Themistocles personally which was decided by the Congress of Hellenes at the Isthmus, or by their authorized commanders-in-chief. It was not at Artemisium, but at the Congress that Sparta was assigned the command by sea as well as by land.

The vale of Tempe: the pass between lower Macedonia and Thessaly, along the river Peneius, with Mt. Olympus on the north and Mt. Ossa on the south.

In defence of Thessaly: at the request of the party in Thessaly which favored the national Hellenic cause. Powerful nobles here, as well as in Boeotia, hoped to get control of the country through the aid of the Persians, and therefore “medised.” The failure to secure united action against the invading Medes (Herodotus uses the name synonymously with Persians), and the reluctance of Sparta to make any stand north of the Isthmus, were the really decisive reasons for the abandonment of the expedition, though Herodotus does not say so. The reasons given by him are the discovery of another pass into Thessaly, and tidings of the overwhelming numbers of the invaders. Ephorus (in *Diod. Sic.*, xi. 2, 6) ascribes the abandonment of Tempe solely to the “medising” of the Greeks about the pass.

Artemisium: it is thus described by Herodotus (vii. 176): “Artemisium is where the sea of Thrace contracts into a narrow channel, running between the isle of Sciathus and the mainland of Magnesia. When this narrow strait is passed you come to the line of coast called Artemisium; which is a portion of Eubœa, and contains a temple of Artemis.” Plutarch’s description comes in *c.* viii. 2, 3. The position protected the flank of the land forces guarding the pass of Thermopylæ (*Herod.*, vii. 175, 176).

VII. 3. Aphetæ: a small harbor opposite Artemisium on the peninsula of Magnesia. Herodotus describes it in vii. 193: “The Barbarians, . . . having rounded the extreme point of Magnesia, sailed straight into the bay that runs up to Pagasæ. There is a place in this bay, belonging to Magnesia, where Hercules is said to have been put ashore to fetch water by Jason and his companions; who then deserted him and went on their way to Aea in Colchis, on board the ship Argo, in quest of the golden fleece.”

Eurybiades was terrified: this fright Herodotus (viii. 4) attributes to all the Greeks. It is concentrated on the commander by Plutarch, just as the magnanimity of the Athenians was on their commander. In Herodotus, the news that the enemy were sending a fleet round Eubœa to intercept the retreat of the Greeks (viii. 7-9) produces no fear, but rather reveals a welcome opportunity to attack the enemy in separate divisions. Plutarch, relying on his memory perhaps, blends the features of viii. 4 and 7-9.

Gave to Eurybiades: Plutarch, while citing Herodotus by name, has greatly softened the malignity of his story of this affair. According to Herodotus (viii. 4, 5), the Eubœans, anxious to save their families, besought Eurybiades to keep the fleet in its position for a few days only, but all in vain. They therefore turned to Themistocles, whom they bribed with thirty talents to promise that the fleet should remain and fight a battle in defence of Eubœa. Themistocles bribed Eurybiades with five talents, and Adeimantus, the Corinthian captain, with three, and so was able to keep his promise to the

Eubœans. "He likewise made his own gain on the occasion; for he kept the rest of the money, and no one knew of it. The commanders who took the gifts thought that the sums were furnished by Athens, and had been sent to be used in this way."

Herodotus gives the version of the incident current at Athens when hatred of Themistocles, Corinth, and Sparta was intense. An all-sufficient basis for the slander could be found in what is intimated even by Herodotus. The Athenians, as anxious as the Eubœans that a defensive struggle against the invader should be made north of the Isthmus, sent moneys to satisfy the demands of ill-paid crews, and these Themistocles disbursed. The Eubœans also contributed to the cause. The name of their agent, Pelagon,—not found in the account of Herodotus,—may come from Phanias, who tells the story that follows (4), where Architeles, an Athenian, is scapegoat, instead of Adeimantus the Corinthian. The story is one of many coined to illustrate the ready cunning of Themistocles.

VIII. 1. **The battles**: three in number, on three successive days, while the three successive battles in the pass of Thermopylæ were raging (*Herod.*, viii. 15). The full story of them is in *Herodotus*, viii. 6–18. Plutarch merely speaks of the moral effects of the battles, and omits all description.

VIII. 2. **Pindar**: in the same dithyramb (Bergk, *Frag.* 76 and 77) in which occurred that other encomium on Athens, extravagantly pleasing to all Athenians: "O that shining, violet-crowned, bard-sung bulwark of Hellas, famous Athens, heavenly citadel!" Both tributes came from a countryman of Plutarch, a citizen of that Thebes to whose patriotism the Athenians of the time when Herodotus wrote did such rank injustice.

VIII. 3. **The following elegy**: it comes down to us on the sole authority of Plutarch; but Bergk (*Poet. Lyr. Græci*, iii. p. 480) does not hesitate to agree with Schneidewin in ascribing it to Simonides. It is not any stranger that Herodotus should not give it than that he should omit

two of the five epitaphs for the slain at Thermopylæ in vii. 228.

Interesting results of modern excavations on the ancient site of the temple of Artemis are given in the *Athenische Mittheilungen*, 1883, pp. 7 ff., 200 ff.

Burned their wrecks and dead bodies: according to Herodotus (viii. 18), the Greeks were so far victorious in the third and last day's fighting as to remain masters of their slain and the wrecks of their vessels, but so badly used up as to decide that evening, before tidings came of the disaster to Leonidas, on "flight" to the South. To this representation of the facts Plutarch takes the strongest exception in his *De Herodoti malignitate*, xxxiv. (*Morals*, p. 867 C), where also he cites this tribute of Pindar.

IX. 1-3. With this much condensed account, compare *Herodotus*, viii. 21-40.

IX. 1. **By messenger from Thermopylæ:** namely, Haborichus, son of Lysicles, an Athenian, who had been stationed near Leonidas off Thermopylæ with a thirty-oared vessel, to carry tidings from the Greek land forces to the fleet at Artemisium. In like manner a watchman had been stationed with a boat off Artemisium to carry tidings of the fleet to Leonidas (*Herod.*, viii. 21).

Because of their valor: a pardonable claim of Athenian patriotism. Herodotus says (viii. 21) that the Greeks "withdrew in the order wherein they had been stationed, the Corinthians leading, and the Athenians sailing last of all."

Along the coasts: the western coast of Eubœa. Herodotus gives (viii. 22) a long and very rhetorical version of the contents of these inscriptions. At the battle of Salamis, he says (viii. 85), "few only of the Ionians followed the advice of Themistocles, to fight backwardly; the greater number did far otherwise." Later tradition magnified the success of the scheme.

IX. 2. **Was burning the cities of the Phocians:** Doris was spared because the inhabitants "medised," but "the Phocians were the only people in these parts who had not

espoused the cause of the Medes" (*Herod.*, viii. 30). The Thessalian Greeks, to avenge themselves on their old foes, the Phocians (*Herod.*, viii. 27-32), served the Barbarians as guides. "The land of Phocis was entirely overrun, for the Thessalians led the Persian army through the whole of it; and wherever they went, the country was wasted with fire and sword, the cities and even the temples being wilfully set alight by the troops." After this, the Barbarians separated into two bodies, according to Herodotus (viii. 34), "whereof one, which was the more numerous and the stronger of the two, marched, under Xerxes himself, towards Athens; the other division took guides and proceeded towards the temple of Delphi."

The Hellenes gave them no succor: at the earnest entreaties of the Athenians, who were now in the same fear which had possessed the Eubœans before the battles at Artemisium (c. vii. 3), the allied fleet had anchored at the island of Salamis, off Athens, that the Athenians might rescue their families. The halt was intended to be only long enough for this. The rest of the paragraph closely follows *Herodotus*, viii. 40.

X. 1. The behavior of the serpent: "The Athenians say that they have in their acropolis a huge serpent, which lives in the temple, and is the guardian of the whole place. Nor do they only say this, but, as if the serpent really dwelt there, every month they lay out its food, which consists of a honey-cake. Up to this time the honey-cake had always been consumed; but now it remained untouched. So the priestess told the people what had happened; whereupon they left Athens the more readily, since they believed that the goddess had already abandoned the citadel" (*Herod.*, viii. 41). It will be seen at once that either Plutarch himself, or the later tradition which he uses, converts the general procedure of the Herodotean story into the specific deed of one man, the leading spirit of the time. See the note on vi. 4.

X. 2. With the well known oracle he tried again, etc.: some time before the passage of the naval bill of The-

mистоcles (484-3; see *c.* iv. 1, 2, and notes), the Athenians sent to consult the oracle at Delphi regarding the future of their city. At first the prophetess had nothing but the direst prophecies of utter destruction at the hands of the foreign invaders (*Herod.*, vii. 140); but in answer to suppliant entreaties she vouchsafed them this second response:—

“ Pallas has not been able to soften the lord of Olympus,
Though she has often prayed, and urged him with excellent
counsel.

Yet once more I address thee in words than adamant firmer.
When the foe shall have taken whatever the limits of Cecrops
Hold encompassed, and all that divine Cithaeron shelters (*i. e.*
Attica),

Then doth the far-voiced Zeus grant this to the prayers of Athena:
Safe shall the wooden wall continue for thee and thy children;
Wait not the tramp of the horse, nor the footmen mightily
moving

Over the land, but turn your back to the foe, and retire ye;
Yet shall a day arrive in which ye shall meet him in battle.
Thou, O divine Salamis, shalt destroy many children of women,
When men scatter the seed, or when they gather the harvest.”

(*Herod.*, vii. 141, the last verse but one slightly changed from
Rawlinson.)

Herodotus then goes on to say (*cc.* 142, 143) that according to one prevalent interpretation of the oracle, the “wooden wall” meant the citadel of Athens; according to another, the fleet of Athens. Those who upheld the latter interpretation were troubled by the last two verses of the oracle, which seemed to foretell defeat at Salamis, until Themistocles (it is at this point that Herodotus introduces him into his story) showed that it must be the defeat of the enemy which was meant. This argument of Themistocles was probably made between the return from Tempe and the battles at Artemisium, to induce the Athenians to put their main reliance on their fleet rather than on a land force. He now

renews the argument to induce them to give up everything for their fleet.

X. 3. **Introduced a bill, etc.**: "So while the rest of the fleet lay to off the island of Salamis, the Athenians cast anchor along their own coast. Immediately upon their arrival, proclamation was made that every Athenian should save his children and household as he best could; whereupon some sent their families to *Ægina*, some to Salamis, but the greater number to *Trezen*" (*Herod.*, viii. 41). From Aristotle (*Constitution of Athens*, xxiii. 1, cited by Plutarch in the next paragraph) it is clear that this *sauve qui peut* proclamation was made by the generals, at whose head stood Themistocles. The "bill" was another matter. Plutarch has good documentary evidence for this (see the Introduction, p. 42), as well as for the public decree of the *Troæzenians* below.

Bestowed their children and wives: after Madvig's correction, for "parents and wives."

Two obols: three obols was a low living wage at Athens for a man of family. The obol corresponded closely to the English penny, though it had several times its purchasing power, as did all ancient money when compared with sums equivalent now. There were six obols in a drachma, one hundred drachmas in a *mina*, and sixty *minæ* in a talent.

Nicagoras: as who should say Victorius, a name significant of the victory soon to be won.

The senate of Areiopagus: this august body, the religious Supreme Court of Athens, composed of ex-archons who had filled their terms of office successfully, by its public-spirited action in this crisis, was held to have regained much of the influence and power which had been taken from it (*Aristotle*, as above cited).

Eight drachmas: the drachma corresponded closely to the French franc. The entire sum furnished by the Areiopagus must have been not less than fifty talents (about £11,900, or \$59,000). It may have been provided from temple-treasures, or private funds, or both.

X. 4. **Clidemus**: see the Introduction, p. 41, and the last note on vi. 1.

X. 5. **Embraces of their loved ones**: assuming some more general term than that meaning "parents" in the usual text, as Amyot evidently read.

Much pity: after Fuhr's correction of the usual text meaning "many who were left behind provoked pity."

The story of the dog of Xanthippus is given, on the authority of Aristotle and Philochorus, by Ælian (*floruit circa 220 A. D.*), *De natura animalium*, xii. 35. Plutarch alludes to the story again in his *Cato Major*, v. 4: "And Xanthippus of old time, when his dog swam over to Salamis by the side of his trireme, what time the people abandoned their city, gave him regular burial on the height called to this day 'Dog's Mound.'" The story arose, of course, to explain the name of the height.

XI. 1. **Introduced a bill**: Aristotle (*Constitution of Athens*, xxii. 8), after mentioning the ostracism of Aristides in connection with the naval bill of Themistocles (484-3), adds: "But in the fourth year thereafter, in the archonship of Hypsichides, they restored all those who had been ostracized, because of the expedition of Xerxes." Plutarch also (*Aristides*, viii. 1), says: "But in the third year thereafter, when Xerxes was marching through Thessaly and Boeotia against Attica, they repealed their law of ostracism, and voted that those who had been sent away under it might return. The chief reason for this was their fear of Aristides." In neither of these passages is Themistocles spoken of as mover of the bill, and it is doubtful whether Plutarch has any evidence for making him such here. It is probably an instance of the individualization of general procedure so natural in special biography (see on *Aristides*, x. 2). This amnesty included Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, who was ostracized a year before Aristides (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, xxii. 6). The famous story of his dog, told in the previous chapter, is therefore chronologically possible.

XI. 2-4. A group of anecdotes gathered from Herodotus

and unknown sources. Plutarch makes very free use of his material, and even changes the *dramatis personæ*. His main purpose of characterization is, however, attained, though with diminished precision. The passages of Herodotus which furnish material, directly or indirectly, for the rest of the chapter, are viii. 56-63, 70, 74, and possibly 79.

XI. 2. Wished to hoist sail, etc. : this panic affected all the Greeks alike, according to Herodotus (viii. 56), and was the result of tidings that the land forces of Xerxes had sacked the citadel of Athens. The captains who did not at once sail away voted in council to do so that very night; but Themistocles succeeded in persuading Eurybiades to call a second council. "As soon as they were come, and before Eurybiades had opened to them his purpose in assembling them together, Themistocles, as men are wont to do when they are very anxious, spoke much to divers of them; whereupon the Corinthian captain, Adeimantus, the son of Ocytus, observed" — what Eurybiades observes in the story as told by Plutarch. For Plutarch's purposes the substitution of Eurybiades is better, since it paves the way for the second story. But the point of the story is lost in his version. Themistocles is so eager to have the decision of the first council reversed that he cannot wait for the second to be called to order, and so "starts before the signal." Such impatient runners at the games were whipped back to the starting-point by the attendants of the judges.

XI. 3. The second, the "smite-but-hear-me" story, comes to us on no authority earlier than Plutarch. Herodotus does not give it; but its place is very natural here, following the suggestion of "caning." It wins Themistocles the word, according to Plutarch, whereas in Herodotus he continues speaking in spite of the interruption of Adeimantus.

Tried to bring him back to his own position: so Plutarch summarizes the long and eloquent speech put into the mouth of Themistocles by Herodotus (viii. 60), which is much like that of Miltiades to Callimachus at Marathon (vi. 109).

A certain one: Adeimantus the Corinthian again, in *Herodotus*, viii. 61. "Hereupon Themistocles spake many bitter things against Adeimantus and the Corinthians generally; and for proof that he had a country, reminded the captains that with two hundred ships at his command, all fully manned for battle, he had both city and territory as good as theirs."

XI. 4. But if you go off and betray us, etc.: the threatening part of this speech was, according to Herodotus (viii. 62), addressed directly to Eurybiades. "After this declaration, he turned to Eurybiades, and addressing him with greater warmth and earnestness, 'If thou wilt stay here,' he said, 'and behave like a brave man, all will be well; if not, thou wilt bring Greece to ruin. For the whole fortune of the war depends on our ships. Be thou persuaded of my words. If not, we will take our families on board, and go, just as we are, to Siris in Italy, which is ours from of old, and which the prophecies declare we are to colonize some day or other. You then, when you have lost allies like us, will hereafter call to mind what I have now said.'

For the second time: cf. ix. 2.

Eurybiades was seized with fear, etc.: so Herodotus (viii. 63).

The Eretrian: well known as the victim of the retort, and for nothing else, like the Seriphian in xviii. 3. The story is not found in *Herodotus*, nor anywhere but here. It is lugged in by the ears. The point would seem to be, as Grote suggested (*History of Greece*, vol. iv., Engl. ed., p. 22, note), that the Eretrians had greed but no patriotism. Their city was betrayed to the Persians in 490 by some of its own citizens.

Admirable for its time as was the ichthyology of Aristotle, he seems to have mistaken the "funnel" of the cuttle-fish for an embryonic heart (*Historia animalium*, iv. 1 p. 524^b, 14-24). The fish has a well developed heart besides the "funnel." Popular ichthyology might well make the ink-fish all "funnel," or "pouch," and no heart.

XII. 1. Some tell the story, etc.: such a story was told by Ammonius of Lampræ, under whom Plutarch studied at Athens (c. xxxii. 4 *fin.*), in a work entitled “Altars and Sacrifices.” According to him, the owl (the bird-emblem of Athena) merely hovered round the Athenian ships, while a dove alighted on the trireme of Themistocles; wherefore, after the battle, he established a sanctuary of Aphrodite (to whom the dove was sacred) in the Piræus (Maximus Planudes, cited in Bauer, *Plutarchs Themistokles*, p. 43). Herodotus says nothing of the omen, but there must have been a popular belief in it a few years after Herodotus wrote, judging from a passage in the *Wasps* of Aristophanes (1078–1090), which blends many patriotic reminiscences of both Marathon and Salamis:

“ Yet we drove their ranks before us, ere the fall of eventide;
As we closed, an owl flew o'er us, and the Gods were on our side.”
(Rogers.)

But soon the enemy’s armament, etc.: Plutarch’s chronology follows very closely that of Herodotus. If we accept September 28th as the day of the battle, then the events of this chapter occurred on the preceding day and night, those of c. xi. (*Herod.*, viii. 56–63) on the 26th. The Greeks were twice panic-stricken, first on news of the destruction of the Athenian citadel (*Herod.*, viii. 56; Plutarch, *Them.*, xi. 2), and again as the enemy confronted them in full united force (*Herod.*, viii. 70, 74; Plutarch, *Them.*, xii. 1). Ephorus, in his rhetorical story (*Diod. Sic.*, xi. 16), eliminates one of these frights, and blurs the sequence of events.

Phalerum: the bay and roadstead east of the Piræus, which served as the harbor of Athens till after the Persian wars. See c. xix. 2.

They actually decided to withdraw, etc.: the council described in Herodotus, viii. 74, 75, 78, did not get as far as this. The first council (*Herod.*, viii. 56) formally voted to withdraw to the Isthmus. Plutarch is simply drawing on his imagination.

The advantages from the narrowness of the straits: these are drawn out at length in the speech which Herod-

otus puts into the mouth of Themistocles at viii. 60. See the note on xi. 3.

XII. 2. This great stratagem of Themistocles, in its main features, is one of the best attested incidents in ancient history; but the details vary curiously in their later tradition. These variations may best be studied in Bauer, *Plutarch's Themistokles*, pp. 44 f.

Æschylus, doubtless an eye-witness of the battle (see the note on xiv. 1), puts a long description of it in the mouth of a messenger to the Persian Queen-mother (*Persians*, 353-432). It begins thus :

“The author of the mischief, O my mistress,
Was some foul fiend or Power on evil bent;
For lo! a Hellene from the Athenian host
Came to my son, to Xerxes, and spake thus,” etc. (Plumptre.)

Herodotus says (viii. 75): “Then Themistocles, when he saw that the Peloponnesians would carry the vote against him, went out secretly from the council, and instructing a certain man what he should say, sent him on board a merchant ship to the fleet of the Medes. The man's name was Sicinnus; he was one of Themistocles' household slaves, and acted as paedagogue to his sons; in after times, when the Thespians were admitting persons to citizenship, Themistocles made him a Thespian, and a rich man to boot.”

Thucydides (i. 137, 4) makes Themistocles note, in his letter to the Persian king Artaxerxes, “how he had forewarned Xerxes at Salamis of the resolution of the Hellenes to withdraw.”

Ephorus (in *Diod. Sic.*, xv. 17, 1), with a broad view of the military exigencies in the case, says: “Themistocles persuaded a certain man to desert to Xerxes and assure him that the fleet at Salamis was going to forsake its position with all speed and assemble at the Isthmus. The king was convinced of the trustworthiness of the tidings, and was therefore eager to prevent the naval and land forces of the Hellenes from effecting a junction.”

Of Persian stock, a prisoner of war: either Plutarch, or the author of the tradition he is following,—probably Plutarch himself,—has misread his Herodotus, making him mean “a certain man of the Medes,” instead of “a certain man to the fleet of the Medes.” The error is found only in Plutarch.

Pædagogue: the classical sense of the word must be kept in mind; not teacher, or tutor, but overseer and guardian. A trusty slave might perform the office, but hardly a captive Persian.

With orders to say, etc.: the message, as Plutarch gives it, blends features of Herodotus (viii. 75) and Ephorus (as above cited).

Encompass the strait round about, etc.: space at command will not allow anything like a summary of the discussions of the battle of Salamis. The special literature on the subject may be found in Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, ii.² p. 700. One of the ablest papers enumerated there is that by Professor Goodwin, in the *Papers of the American School at Athens*, i. pp. 239–262, and it is accompanied by maps and views. Though I cannot agree with Professor Goodwin’s conclusions, his presentation of evidence for reaching a conclusion is exhaustive.

Xerxes had planned to give battle in the great bay outside the straits of Salamis in which the island of Psyttaleia lay (*Herod.*, viii. 70). On receiving the message of Themistocles, Xerxes changed his plan, and determined to surround the ships of the Greeks where they lay (in the harbor of the town of Salamis, inside the narrow strait), in order to prevent their scattering in flight. This feat was accomplished under cover of darkness, by extending his right wing through the strait of Salamis till it touched the northern coast of the island of Salamis, and prevented the escape of Greek ships into the bay of Eleusis, and so round to the south and the Isthmus. No squadron was sent round Salamis to blockade the strait between Salamis and Megara. Such a long sail was unnecessary if the Greeks could be shut up in the



(a) ATTICA AND THE SARONIC GULF.
(b) THE STRAITS OF SALAMIS.

harbor of Salamis. The tradition of such a squadron being sent around the island of Salamis is an unwarranted duplication of the procedure before Artemisium (vii. 3; *Herod.*, viii. 7-9). There is nothing in the language of Æschylus which necessarily implies such a manœuvre, and absolutely no allusion to it in Herodotus. He says (viii. 76): "Then the captains" (to whom Sicinnus brought his message), "believing all that the messenger had said, proceeded to land a large body of Persian troops on the islet of Psyttaleia, which lies between Salamis and the mainland; after which, about the hour of midnight, they advanced their western wing towards Salamis, so as to inclose the Greeks. At the same time the force stationed about Ceos and Cynosura" (a cape of Salamis opposite Psyttaleia) "moved forward, and filled the whole strait as far as Munychia" (part of the Piræus) "with their ships. This advance was made to prevent the Greeks from escaping by flight, and to block them up in Salamis."

Æschylus says (*Persians*, 361-368):

" And he forthwith, this hearing, knowing not
The Hellene's guile, nor yet the Gods' great envy,
Gives this command to all his admirals,
Soon as the sun should cease to burn the earth
With his bright rays, and darkness thick invade
The firmament of Heaven, to set their ships
In three-fold lines, to hinder all escape,
And guard the billowy straits, and others place
In circuit round about the isle of Aias." (Plumptre.)

Including the islands: not only Psyttaleia, but also those at the entrance to the bay of Eleusis, on the northwest of the Greek position.

XII. 3. Compare *Herodotus*, viii. 79-82; Plutarch, *Aristides*, viii. The latter story incorporates the speeches of Themistocles and Aristides given by Herodotus.

The tent of Themistocles: in *Herodotus*, Aristides calls Themistocles out of the council, coming across from Ægina.

Went round to the other generals, etc.: "Then Aristides entered the assembly, and spoke to the captains: he had come, he told them, from Ægina, and had but barely escaped the blockading vessels — the Greek fleet was entirely inclosed by the ships of Xerxes — and he advised them to get themselves in readiness to resist the foe. Having said so much, he withdrew. And now another contest arose, for the greater part of the captains would not believe the tidings" (*Herod.*, viii. 81).

A Tenian trireme: "But while they still doubted, a Tenian trireme, commanded by Panætius the son of Sosimenes, deserted from the Persians and joined the Greeks, bringing full intelligence" (*Herod.*, viii. 82). Tenos was one of the Cyclades group of islands, S. E. of Attica. Most of the Greek islanders accepted Persian service. For their patriotism the Tenians "were inscribed upon the tripod at Delphi among those who overthrew the Barbarians" (*Herod.*, viii. 82).

XIII. 1. Was seated on a high place: Æschylus (*Persians*, 465-471) has the messenger say to Atossa:

"And Xerxes, when he saw how deep the ill,
Groaned out aloud, for he had ta'en his seat
With clear, wide view of all the army round,
On a high cliff hard by the opening sea."

"During the whole time of the battle," Herodotus says (viii. 90), "Xerxes sat at the base of the hill called Ægaleos, over against Salamis; and whenever he saw any of his own captains perform any worthy exploit, he enquired concerning him; and the man's name was taken down by the scribes, together with the names of his father and his city."

Phanodemus: see the Introduction, p. 41.

The Heracleum: this sanctuary of Heracles must have been on the lower slope of Mt. Ægaleos, just opposite the ancient and modern ferry between Attica and the island and town of Salamis. The site favors the view that the Greeks were surrounded in the bay and harbor of the town of Salamis,

and not simply shut up in the strait of Salamis by besetting both entrances.

Acestodorus: see the Introduction, p. 45.

The so-called "Horns": according to Strabo (ix. p. 395 A), these were two hills on the shore opposite Salamis, marking the boundary between Attica and Megara. This would put Xerxes eight or nine miles N. W. of the scene of the battle and is, of course, absurd.

A gilded throne: a stretch of Plutarch's fancy, apparently. A silver-footed stool was long preserved on the Acropolis at Athens among the trophies of the Persian wars. Demosthenes, in the speech against Timocrates (§ 129), delivered in 353 b. c., accuses a certain steward of these trophies of purloining "the silver-footed stool and the scimetar of Mardonius." Hellenic fancy also pictured Xerxes as shielded from the sun by a gilded parasol (c. xvi. 2).

To make due record: so Alexander and Pompey, makers of history, kept historians in their train to make record of events while they were fresh. Cæsar was his own historian. See also the passage from Herodotus cited just above.

XIII. 2. It is impossible to explain the origin of this incredible story from Phanias. Human sacrifices had long since ceased in Hellas. Plutarch refers to the story again in his *Pelopidas*, xxi., where he tells of a vision of Pelopidas just before the battle of Leuctra, which seemed to demand a human sacrifice if the Thebans were to be victorious over the Spartans. Pelopidas, like Themistocles in the present story, shrinks from such an impious deed; but certain prophets urge a long list of mythical and historical examples in justification: Menœceus son of Creon, Macaria daughter of Heracles, and Pherecydes the philosopher. "Leonidas, again, warned by the oracle, did as it were sacrifice himself for the good of Greece; Themistocles offered human victims to Dionysus Carniverous, before the engagement at Salamis; and success showed their actions to be good." It is, of course, Plutarch's list, put into the mouths of the prophets in his story.

Ephorus (in *Diodorus Siculus*, xi. 57), after the successful arrival of Themistocles at the Persian court, in the manner described by Plutarch in *c. xxvi.*, has one Mandané, daughter of Darius and sister of Xerxes, demand vengeance on the fugitive for the killing of her sons at Salamis. Themistocles is permitted to plead his case before a court of noble Persians, and, after mastering the Persian language for the purpose, proves his innocence of the crime.

In his *Aristides*, ix., Plutarch has the hero capture these three beautiful sons of Sandaucé on the island of Psyttaleia, which the Persians had occupied. But to make his story smooth, he is obliged to transpose the exploit of Aristides at Psyttaleia from a point following the victory of the Greeks in the naval battle, where Æschylus (*Persians*, 454 ff.) and Herodotus (viii. 95) put it, to one just preceding the battle.

Was sacrificing: to get favorable omens for the beginning of the action. So Pausanias before the decisive engagement at Platæa (Plutarch, *Aristides*, xvii. 4), and the Greek commanders frequently in Xenophon's *Anabasis* (*e. g.* i. 8, 15; v. 6, 28).

A sneeze gave forth its good omen on the right: a better omen on the right, but a good omen anywhere. In the *Odyssey*, xvii. 541-545, as Penelope advises the faithful swineherd to bring to her the beggar (who is Odysseus in disguise), "Telemachus sneezed loudly, and all the hall gave a great echo. Penelope laughed, and to Eumæus straightway said in winged words: 'Pray go and call the stranger before me, as I bade. Do you not notice how my son sneezed at my words?'" In the council of war which the Greeks hold after the treacherous murder of their generals by the Persians, Xenophon urges downright war upon the faithless enemy from that time on: "'Then, God helping, we have many a bright hope of safety.' The words were scarcely spoken when some one sneezed, and with one impulse the soldiers bowed in worship; and Xenophon proceeded: 'I propose, Sirs, since, even as we spoke of safety, an omen from Zeus the Savior has appeared, we vow a vow to sacrifice to

the Savior thank-offerings for safe deliverance, wheresoever first we reach a friendly country" (*Anabasis*, iii. 2, 9, Dakyns).

Clasped by the hand: in glad congratulation on the good omens.

Dionysus Carniverous: the epithet was due to the wild orgies of the bacchanals, in which animals were torn limb from limb and devoured. So Pentheus, in the awful myth, is torn asunder by his mother and her attendant bacchantes.

Phanias the Lesbian: see the Introduction, p. 43.

XIV. 1. The play of *Æschylus* from which Plutarch cites here (see the notes on v. 4, and xii. 2), is our earliest source of information about the battle of Salamis, and was doubtless used by Herodotus. It is probable that *Æschylus* was an eye-witness of the battle. If the passage in *Æschylus* be interpreted in harmony with its context, then *Æschylus* and Herodotus agree on the number 1207 as the total of the barbarian ships. At any rate, this number became firmly fixed in tradition. The three verses which Plutarch cites do not of themselves make it necessary to regard the 207 ships "of surpassing speed" as additional to the 1000; but the context makes it plain that the author of the verses so regarded them. The passage in full is as follows (after Plumptre, verses 340-346):

"As far as numbers went, be sure, the ships
Of Persia had the better, for the Hellenes
Had as their total ships but fifteen score,
And other ten selected as reserve;
But Xerxes (well I know it) had a thousand
Which he commanded; those that most excelled
In speed were twice five score and seven in number;
So stands the account."

For both fleets the messenger to the Persian Queen enumerates first the ordinary sailors, then the additional reserve of swift sailors. And so Herodotus understood the testimony of the passage, as is likely, though he uses it for his enumer-

ation of the fleets in vii. 89–99, at a point in his story before the engagements at Artemisium. The losses of the Persian fleet in storm and battle before the engagement at Salamis he makes good by his questionable assumption (viii. 66) of reinforcements from medising Greeks.

One hundred and eighty: given as two hundred at xi. 3, where the rhetoric makes the round number perfectly natural.

XIV. 2. Plutarch here either adds of his own invention, or borrows from some source unknown to us the detail of the sea-breeze which increased the discomfiture of the Persians. Such a sea-breeze would not rise till late in the forenoon, as Col. Leake (*Demi of Attica*, p. 203, note) pointed out; whereas both Æschylus and Herodotus represent the battle as beginning at daybreak (*Persians*, 389 f.; *Herod.*, viii. 83).

The admiral of Xerxes, Ariamenes: enumerating the losses on both sides in the battle, Herodotus says (viii. 89): “There fell in this combat Ariabignes, the commander, son of Darius and brother of Xerxes, and with him perished a vast number of men of high repute, Persians, Medes, and allies.” This, with expansion by Ephorus (*Diod. Sic.*, xi. 18, 5), may be the basis for Plutarch’s graphic story here. Of an Ariamenes he also tells the story (*De fraterno amore*, xviii. = *Morals*, p. 488 D — F) that on the death of Darius the succession to his throne was claimed both by his eldest son by a first marriage, Ariamenes, and by Xerxes, the eldest son by a second marriage with Atossa; but that when the case was decided in favor of Xerxes by its arbiter, “Ariamenes presently started up, and went and showed obeisance to his brother, and taking him by the hand, placed him in the throne. And from that time, being placed himself by Xerxes next in the kingdom, he continued the same affection to him, insomuch that, for his brother’s honor engaging himself in the naval fight at Salamis, he was killed there. And this may serve for a clear and unquestionable instance of true kindness and greatness of mind.” Of this story Plutarch is clearly thinking when he calls Ariamenes, just below, “strongest and justest of the King’s brothers.”

The Ariabignes of Herodotus is only one of four commanders of the fleet of Xerxes (vii. 97), and the eldest son of Darius by his first marriage is called Artabazanes by him (vii. 2, 3), in an account of the dispute for the succession differing in other details widely from Plutarch's. The glorification of Themistocles by putting the enemy's commander-in-chief over against him is quite in the manner of Ephorus, if not borrowed from him.

XIV. 3. In the nomenclature of this paragraph Plutarch either makes a jumble of his Herodotean and Ephorean reminiscences, or is using some source unknown to us who thus varies the details of Herodotus.

Ameinias the Deceleian: according to the Athenian tradition given by Herodotus (viii. 84), an Ameinias of Pallene, one of the Athenian captains, was first to charge down upon a ship of the enemy. "The two vessels became entangled, and could not separate, whereupon the rest of the fleet came up to help Ameinias, and engaged with the Persians." This Ameinias of Pallene, too, is one of the three men singled out by Herodotus (viii. 93) for individual praise. The genial combination which Plutarch is freely following may perhaps be seen in (Ephorus) *Diodorus*, xi. 27, where the meed of greatest valor is awarded to *Ægina* from among the cities, but to Ameinias from among individual men, — "Ameinias, an Athenian, the brother of *Æschylus* the poet. He was commander of a trireme, and the first to ram down the admiral's ship of the Persians; this he sank, and killed the admiral." Now Ameinias of Pallene cannot have been a brother of *Æschylus*, who was an Eleusinian by deme. The relationship to the poet was coined by some story-teller who was bent on having a brother of the poet as prominent in the accounts of Salamis as Cynegeirus, son of Euphorion, was in those of Marathon (*Herod.*, vi. 114). For the name of *Æschylus*' father was also Euphorion (*Herod.*, ii. 156), from which it was early (and with some reason) assumed that *Æschylus* and Cynegeirus were brothers. A later historian still (Aristodemus, of uncertain date) smooths all difficulties away by making Ameinias

“an Athenian, son of Euphorion, brother of Cynegeirus and *Æschylus*.” And so the *Life of Æschylus*, a late compilation which has come down to us, has the poet take part in the battle of Marathon with his brother Cynegeirus, in the battle of Salamis with the youngest of his brothers, Ameinias, and also in the battles at Platea. What purports to be the epitaph on the poet’s grave at Gela in Sicily, an epigram of uncertain age (*Life*, § 10), speaks of the poet’s valor at Marathon. But we have explicit and trustworthy evidence only to his presence at Salamis, namely, the word of Ion of Chios (see the Introduction, p. 32).

Socles the Pæanian: otherwise unknown. The adjective of the deme is corrected, with Blass, from that meaning “Pedian.”

Artemisia: the heroine of Salamis in Herodotus, on whose exploits in battle and in council the historian fondly dwells. She was queen of Halicarnassus, the native city of Herodotus in Caria, and of three neighboring islands, which she governed as vassal of Xerxes. “Of the other lower officers I shall make no mention, since no necessity is laid on me; but I must speak of a certain leader named Artemisia, whose participation in the attack upon Greece, notwithstanding that she was a woman, moves my special wonder . . . and the five triremes which she furnished to the Persians were, next to the Sidonians, the most famous ships in the fleet. She likewise gave to Xerxes sounder counsel than any of his other allies.” (*Herod.*, vii. 99; compare also viii. 68, 69, 87, 88, 93, 101–103.)

XV. 1. **At this stage of the struggle:** some time after the battle had begun. Herodotus (viii. 65) has the Eleusinian omen occur some time before the battle, apparently the day before (see the notes on xii. 1).

On one of the days of the great Eleusinian festival, which was usually celebrated during a period including the day on which the battle of Salamis was fought, the sacred image of Iacchus (the Eleusinian Dionysus) was escorted in a triumphal procession of all the initiated along the sacred way

from Athens to Eleusis. It was natural that the feeling should arise in the hearts of the people of Attica, who had been driven to their ships, while their country was ravaged by the troops of Xerxes, that the great day of the festival could not pass without some token from the gods of the festival showing sympathy with their worshippers and hostility to the impious invaders. The procession was made at the appointed time by shadowy celebrants! A cloud of their hopes and prayers passed out to the fleet that was to make possible a renewal of the religious rites so rudely interrupted by the barbarian despoilers!

Herodotus gives the story startling verisimilitude by putting it into the mouth of Dicæus, an Athenian exile among the Medes. Dicæus chanced to be in the Thriasian plain about Eleusis in company with a famous Spartan exile, Demaratus, who was a confidant and adviser of the Persian King. He declared "that while there he saw a cloud of dust advancing from Eleusis, such as a host of thirty thousand men might raise. As he and his companion were wondering who the men from whom the dust came could possibly be, a sound of voices reached his ear, and he thought that he recognized the mystic hymn to Iacchus. Now Demaratus was unacquainted with the rites of Eleusis, and so he enquired of Dicæus what the voices were saying. Dicæus made answer: 'O Demaratus, beyond a doubt some mighty calamity is about to befall the King's army! For it is manifest, inasmuch as Attica is deserted by its inhabitants, that the sound which we have heard is an unearthly one, and is now upon its way from Eleusis to aid the Athenians and their confederates. . . . If it moves toward the ships at Salamis, 't will go hard but the King's fleet there suffers destruction. Every year the Athenians celebrate this feast to the Mother and the Daughter; and all who wish, whether they be Athenians or any other Greeks, are initiated. The cry thou hearest, is the cry to Iacchus which is raised at this festival.' . . . And they looked and saw the dust from which the sound arose become a cloud, and the

cloud rise up into the air and sail away to Salamis, making for the station of the Grecian fleet."

They say: probably Plutarch's substitute for the more elaborate device of Herodotus,—the "tale told by Dicæus." Plutarch condenses his Herodotus for the whole item.

A great light flamed out: a clever addition by Plutarch, as he thinks of the flaming torches carried by the thirty thousand mystics. For further details of the Eleusinian mysteries, see Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiquities*, pp. 274–286.

Armed men from Ægina, . . . the Æacidæ: on the morning of the day before the battle, according to Herodotus, "prayers were offered to all the gods, and Telamon and Ajax were invoked at once from Salamis, while a ship was sent to Ægina to fetch Æacus himself, and the other Æacids" (viii. 64). On the following morning, "at the dawn of day, all the men at arms were assembled together, and speeches were made to them, of which the best was that of Themistocles; who throughout contrasted what was noble with what was base, and bade them, in all that came within the range of man's nature and constitution, always to make choice of the nobler part. Having thus wound up his discourse, he told them to go at once on board their ships, which they accordingly did; and about this time the trireme that had been sent to Ægina for the Æacidæ, returned; whereupon the Greeks put to sea with all their fleet" (viii. 83). Peleus and Telamon were sons, Achilles and Ajax grandsons of Æacus.

XV. 2. Lycomedes: speaking of the first day's battle at Artemisium, Herodotus says (viii. 11): "The first who made prize of a ship of the enemy was Lycomedes, the son of Æschreas, an Athenian, who was afterwards adjudged the meed of valor." Plutarch, writing freely from memory, transfers the incident to Salamis. In viii. 84 (cited on xiv. 3), Herodotus has Ameinias the Athenian open the battle, by attacking a ship of the enemy. "Such is the account," he continues, "which the Athenians give of the way in

which the battle began; but the Æginetans maintain that the vessel which had been to Ægina for the Æacidæ, was the one that brought on the fight. It is also reported that a phantom in the form of a woman appeared to the Greeks, and, in a voice that was heard from end to end of the fleet, cheered them on to the fight."

Dedicated it to Apollo Daphnephoros at Phlya: Plutarch probably found the inscription of the votive offering given in the same authority whom he uses for the evidence in i. 3,—Phanodemus, or some other *Atthis*-writer. The inscription probably did not mention the name of the battle, thus making Plutarch's error possible.

Athenæus (p. 424 F) speaks of a *Daphnephoreium*, or temple of Apollo *Daphnephoros* (Lauriger, of the laurel crown) at Phlya.

Till the evening drew on: so Æschylus, *Persians*, 429—431:—

“ And bitter groans and wailings overspread
The wide sea-waves, till eye of swarthy night
Bade it all cease.”

As Simonides says: see the note on i. 3, and the Introduction, pp. 29 f.

XVI. 1. After the sea-fight: it is impossible to decide, so conflicting are the various traditions, what really followed at once upon the battle of Salamis. Of course, as time went on, the patriotic tradition of Athens would magnify the panic element in the retirement of Xerxes from his attempt to subjugate the Greeks. Even as early as 472, when the *Persians* of Æschylus was produced, both fleet and land army of Xerxes are represented as flying panic-stricken immediately after the battle (vv. 471 f., 482 ff.). Details of disastrous flight multiplied as Greek fancy dwelt upon the theme, so that the accounts of Herodotus (viii. 96—120) are a curious blend of fact and fiction. He found them current at Athens, and reproduced them, with many of their contradictions and inconsistencies unexplained. Later tradition tended rather to eliminate the facts and increase the fiction.

Thucydides, in the great excursus (i. 128–138) on the careers of Pausanias and Themistocles,—“the two most famous Hellenes of their day,”—evidently found it hard to make critical headway through the mass of conflicting detail. He clearly accepts, however, the second “stratagem” of Themistocles, by which the retreat of Xerxes was hastened through fear that the Greeks would destroy his bridge of boats at the Hellespont. He makes Themistocles say in a letter to Artaxerxes: “‘And there is a debt of gratitude due to me’ (here noting how he had forewarned Xerxes at Salamis of the resolution of the Hellenes to withdraw, and how through his influence, as he pretended, they had refrained at that time from breaking down the bridges).”

The course of events as given by Herodotus is as follows: the Greeks awaited at Salamis a renewal of the engagement by the King on the following day (c. 96); Xerxes, seeing the extent of his losses, and fearing for the safety of his bridges at the Hellespont, “made up his mind to fly; but as he wished to hide his purpose alike from the Greeks and from his own people, he set to work to carry a mound across the channel to Salamis, . . . and likewise made many war-like preparations, as if he were about to engage the Greeks once more at sea” (c. 97). Mardonius, reading the King’s thought, heartens him up, and urges him to leave with himself a picked force for the further subjugation of Greece (cc. 97, 100). The councillors of Xerxes, and especially Artemisia, second this advice of Mardonius (cc. 101, 102), and it is adopted (cc. 103, 107).

All this, apparently, took place on the day following the battle. “During this day he did no more; but no sooner was night come than he issued his orders, and at once the captains of the ships left Phalerum, and bore away for the Hellespont, each making all the speed he could, and hastening to guard the bridges against the King’s return” (c. 107). “Next day the Greeks, seeing the land forces of the Barbarians encamped in the same place” (opposite Salamis), “thought that their ships must still be lying at Phalerum;

and expecting another attack from that quarter, made preparations to defend themselves. Soon, however, news came that the ships were all departed and gone away; whereupon it was instantly resolved to make sail in pursuit. ¶ They went as far as Andros; but seeing nothing of the Persian fleet, they stopped at that place, and held a council of war" (c. 108).

At this council of war, Themistocles, in good earnest, urges the pursuit of the Persian fleet and the destruction of the bridges, and is heartily seconded by all the Athenians. But Eurybiades argues against the pursuit, with much the same reasoning that is put by Plutarch, in this chapter, into the mouth of Aristides, and is supported by all the Peloponnesian captains (c. 109). Themistocles therefore gives up his pet scheme, and brings the almost rebellious Athenians over to the Spartan policy (cc. 109, 110). This magnanimous conduct was perverted into treachery by the malice of the tradition which grew up during Themistocles' residence in Persia, and Herodotus voices this malice when he says: "All this Themistocles said" (to the Athenians) "in the hope of establishing a hold upon the King; for he wanted to have a safe retreat in case any mischance should befall him at Athens, — which indeed came to pass afterwards" (c. 109).

Having won the Athenians over to his conciliatory views, Themistocles then devises the "stratagem" told also by Plutarch in this chapter (§ 3). "He lost no time in sending messengers, on board a light bark, to the King, choosing for this purpose men whom he could trust to keep his instructions secret, even although they should be put to every kind of torture. Among these was the house-slave Sicinnus, the same whom he had made use of previously (Plut., *Them.*, xii. 2). When the men reached Attica, all the others stayed with the boat; but Sicinnus went up to the King, and spake to him as follows: 'I am sent to thee by Themistocles, the son of Neocles, who is the leader of the Athenians, and the wisest and bravest man of all the allies, to bear thee this

message: "Themistocles the Athenian, anxious to render thee a service, has restrained the Greeks, who were impatient to pursue thy ships, and to break up the bridges at the Hellespont. Now, therefore, return home at thy leisure."'"

"King Xerxes and his army," Herodotus goes on (*c.* 113), "waited but a few days after the sea-fight, and then withdrew into Bœotia." In Thessaly, Mardonius selected the flower of the army for his campaign of the next year, three hundred thousand in all. There Xerxes left him, and in forty-five days reached the Hellespont (*c.* 115). Greek traditions distorted an orderly and successful retreat, with due provisions for continuing a successful campaign, into catastrophic flight (*cc.* 115-119).

Ephorus, as represented in *Diodorus*, xi. 19, has clearly influenced Plutarch somewhat in his description of this stratagem. His account of these matters is as follows: "The King, thus unexpectedly defeated, put to death the most culpable of the Phœnicians who began the flight, and threatened the rest with the infliction of suitable punishment. So the Phœnicians, fearing these threats, for the time being halted on the coast of Attica, but during the coming night put off for Asia. Then Themistocles, who was given the credit of the victory, devised another stratagem greater than his first. He saw that the Hellenes feared to contend with their land forces against so many myriads, and therefore greatly reduced the numbers of the enemy's infantry, somewhat after this fashion. He despatched the paedagogue of his own sons to Xerxes to tell him that the Hellenes intended to sail to where the shores of the Hellespont were spanned, and destroy the bridge. Therefore the King, believing a story which was so plausible, was filled with fear lest he be cut off from his retreat to Asia, now that the Hellenes controlled the sea, and determined to cross from Europe into Asia by the speediest route, leaving Mardonius to threaten Hellas with the flower of his cavalry and infantry, the total number of which was not less than four hundred thousand. Thus by his use of two

stratagems Themistocles gained great advantages for the Hellenes."

Plutarch recounts the same matters once more in his *Aristides*, ix. 3, which version should be carefully compared with this earlier version of the *Themistocles*, and with those of Herodotus and Ephorus cited above.

Amid such conflicting testimonies it is hard to fix upon the residuum of historical truth. No two students of the testimony could perfectly agree. Even the second stratagem may be questioned. It was not needed. Xerxes was perfectly aware that if the Hellenes once commanded the sea, his communications at the Hellespont were in danger. He needed no message to tell him that. But popular imagination insisted on making a "doublet" of the first stratagem, and this was part and parcel of current popular tradition when Herodotus wrote, fifty years after the events. It was so integral a part that even the critical Thucydides, writing perhaps thirty years after Herodotus, did not venture to eliminate it entirely.

The barest skeleton of event, then, on which the reader of the testimony may put whatever clothing of detail seems necessary, would be this: The Greeks underrated their success, and Xerxes overrated his disaster; to cover preparations for retreat, Xerxes began offensive operations with land and sea forces, but soon, fearing for his communications, sent his fleet to the Hellespont to protect them; the Athenian policy was to pursue the Persian fleet, the Spartan, as constantly up to this time, to hug the Peloponnesus. The Athenians, as before, yielded, in the interests of harmony, to the Spartan ideas. The land forces of Xerxes, after a short time, retired, in leisurely fashion, to the friendly and fruitful plains of Thessaly, where the mass and flower of the army went into winter quarters, and resumed operations in the spring under the command of Mardonius (*Aristides*, x.).

Themistocles, merely by way of sounding Aristides: this concentration of detail upon the two contrasting personalities of the time, instead of leaving it with two parties, the

Athenians and Spartans, or even with two less effectively contrasted personalities, as Themistocles and Eurybiades, is constantly seen in the study of historical tradition. It became impossible for popular tradition, or his literary eulogists, to allow so ideally cunning a man as Themistocles to be less far-sighted than a rival, and therefore his short-sighted proposition is represented to be merely a ruse to test that rival.

XVI. 2. **A certain royal eunuch . . . by name Arnaces:** having made (or adopted) an error in his story of the first stratagem (see the note on xii. 2), Plutarch must have a second "Persian" for the second message. He has shut himself out from using the taking device, in the version selected by Herodotus, of having the same messenger for both stratagems. And yet in the briefer version of the incident in the *Aristides*, c. ix. 3, Plutarch forgets his own procedure in the *Themistocles*, xii. 2, and has his Themistocles there send "once more the eunuch Arnaces, a prisoner of war."

XVI. 3. **The merest fraction of the armies of Xerxes:** this is the trait so clearly seen in the story of Ephorus cited above on xvi. 1.

XVII. 1. **Herodotus says:** "The Greeks who gained the greatest glory of all in the sea-fight of Salamis were the Æginetans, and after them the Athenians" (viii. 93). There is much earlier testimony in the fourth Isthmian Ode of Pindar, composed soon after the battle of Salamis in commemoration of an athletic victory of an Æginetan youth, Phylacidas. After singing of the exploits of the mythical heroes of Ægina, the poet comes down to the recent Persian wars: "and even but now in war might Aias' city, Salamis, bear witness to her deliverance by Ægina's seamen amid the destroying tempest of Zeus, when death came thick as hail on the unnumbered hosts" (vv. 48-50). Of course, in time, and especially after the destruction of the Æginetan fleet by Athens (see the note on iv. 1), popular sentiment at Athens became reluctant to admit the old-time naval superiority of

Ægina. Herodotus, greatly to his credit, resists this feeling, and records the consensus of Hellenic feeling immediately after Salamis. He even repeats the record. After the division of the booty at Salamis, and the dedication of the first fruits of victory to the god at Delphi, "the Greeks made enquiry of the god, in the name of their whole body, if he had received his full share of the spoils and was satisfied therewith. The god made answer that all the other Greeks had paid him full due, except only the Æginetans; on them he had still a claim for the prize of valor which they had gained at Salamis. So the Æginetans, when they heard this, dedicated the three golden stars which stand on the top of a bronze mast, in the corner near the bowl offered by Crœsus" (viii. 122). There was monumental evidence, then, to this Æginetan glory, and Delphic evidence, toward which Herodotus is always very deferential.

By the time of Ephorus, a century later, Athenian sentiment did not hesitate to detract from this Æginetan glory. The Spartans, it was said, were jealous of the power and prestige of Athens, and had therefore tried to humble her pride. "Hence when the vote was taken on the prize of valor, they relied upon their greater popularity to force a verdict that, of the cities, Ægina should have the prize, of individuals, Ameinias an Athenian, the brother of Æschylus the poet" (*Diodorus*, xi. 27, 2).

Plutarch evidently sympathizes here with the feeling that Athens deserved the meed of valor in the battle of Salamis, in spite of what Herodotus says. In his treatise "On the Malice of Herodotus," c. xl. (*Morals*, p. 871 C, D), he flouts the testimony of Herodotus, and accuses him of inventing the monumental evidence at Delphi. This had disappeared long before the time of Plutarch.

The generals withdrew to the Isthmus, etc.: "When the spoils had been divided, the Greeks sailed to the Isthmus, where a prize of valor was to be awarded to the man who, of all the Greeks, had shown the most merit during the war. When the chiefs were all come, they met at the altar of

Poseidon, and distributed the ballots wherewith they were to give their votes for the first and for the second in merit. Then each man gave himself the first vote, since each considered that he was himself the worthiest; but the second votes were given chiefly to Themistocles. In this way, while the others received but one vote apiece, Themistocles had for the second prize a large majority of the suffrages. Envy, however, hindered the chiefs from coming to a decision, and they all sailed away to their homes without making any award. Nevertheless, Themistocles was regarded everywhere as by far the wisest man of all the Greeks; and the whole country rang with his fame" (*Herod.*, viii. 123, 124).

XVII. 2. "As the chiefs who fought at Salamis, notwithstanding that he was really entitled to the prize, had withheld his honor from him, he went without delay to Lacedæmon, in the hope that he would be honored there. And the Lacedæmonians received him handsomely, and paid him great respect. The prize of valor, indeed, which was a crown of olive, they gave to Eurybiades; but Themistocles was given a crown of olive too, as the prize of wisdom and cleverness. He was likewise presented with the most beautiful chariot that could be found in Sparta; and after receiving abundant praises, was, upon his departure, escorted as far as the borders of Tegea, by the three hundred picked Spartans who are called the 'Knights.' Never was it known, either before or since, that the Spartans escorted a man out of their city" (*Herod.*, viii. 124).

Plutarch has confused the prize of valor at Salamis with that for the most merit during the whole war, and the entire chapter, thus far, is an excellent illustration of the free and easy use he makes of so dominant an authority as Herodotus. But in some deviations from Herodotus he is purposely correcting that historian's malicious interpretation of the course of Themistocles. It was on invitation of the Spartans that Themistocles visited their city, and not of his own motion, in a quest for honors. This is the corrective view of Thucydides also, when he puts these words into the mouth of an

Athenian embassy at Sparta, which is recounting the claims of Athens on Spartan gratitude for services rendered at Salamis (i. 74, 1): “The event proved undeniably that the fate of Hellas depended on her navy. And the three chief elements of success were contributed by us; namely, the greatest number of ships, the ablest general, the most devoted patriotism. The ships in all numbered four hundred, and of these, our own contingent amounted to nearly two thirds. To the influence of Themistocles our general it was chiefly due that we fought in the strait, which was confessedly our salvation; and for this service you yourselves honored him above any stranger who ever visited you.”

This was also the view of Ephorus (in *Diodorus*, xi. 27, 3): “Since the Athenians were displeased at their unmerited defeat” (by the Æginetans, in the award of the prize of valor at Salamis), “the Lacedæmonians, fearful lest Themistocles be vexed at what had happened, and devise great evil for them and the Hellenes, honored him with twice as many gifts as those received who had taken the prize.”

XVII. 3. This story, a natural accretion to tradition, like that of v. 3, is not in *Herodotus*. Pausanias, writing towards the close of the century at the opening of which Plutarch was busy with his *Lives*, tells (viii. 50, 3) how Philopœmen was honored at the Nemean games, during the singing of a famous minstrel. “Scarcely had he struck up the song —

‘The glorious crown of freedom who giveth to Greece — ’

when all the people turned and looked at Philopœmen, and with clapping of hands signified that the song referred to him. I have heard that much the same thing happened to Themistocles at Olympia; the audience stood up to do him honor.” And Ælian, writing a few years later than Pausanias, gives the anecdote in this form (*Varia Hist.* xiii. 43): “When Themistocles was asked what had given him the greatest pleasure of his life, he answered, ‘When the audience at Olympia turned about to look at me as I entered the stadium.’” Compare the equally apocryphal and charm-

ing story of Aristides and the audience who heard the “Seven against Thebes” of Æschylus (*Aristides*, iii. 3.)

XVIII. This chapter, like the fifth, is a miscellaneous collection of anecdotes, nine in all, intended to illustrate characteristics of Themistocles. Only one of these anecdotes, the fifth, can be traced to a source earlier than Plutarch. This is by far the best one, and is told by Herodotus (viii. 125), in slightly different form, at just the point where Plutarch uses it (with eight others), namely, after the mention of the extraordinary honors paid to Themistocles on account of Salamis. The community of sequence is a strong argument in favor of the independent use of Herodotus by Plutarch in this *Life*. He takes the story of Herodotus, in its later and more perfect rhetorical form, uses it as a nucleus for eight other stories, and inserts the whole group at just the point in the narration where Herodotus resorts to anecdote.

XVIII. 1. **Admiral**: Plutarch is careless in his use of technical terms. The office was that of general with full powers, as in vii. 1.

The first story, if true, would testify to a ridiculous vanity. It is told only here.

Cast up along the sea: in telling this second story, Plutarch has the battle of Salamis distinctly in mind, as is natural from the immediate context. The story is here made to illustrate haughty pride; but in his “Political Precepts,” a treatise only a little, if any, earlier than the *Themistocles*, it does very different duty, illustrating Themistocles’ thoughtfulness for his friends. “There are also in the administration of the state methods, not dishonorable, of assisting our poorer friends in the making of their fortune. Thus did Themistocles, who, seeing after the battle one of those which lay dead adorned with collars of gold and armlets, did himself pass by him; but turning back to a friend of his, said: ‘Take thou these spoils, for thou art not become a Themistocles.’ Affairs themselves often afford a statesman such opportunities of benefiting his friends.” (*Præcepta ger. reip.*, 83 = *Morals* p. 808 F). Still a different form and

purpose has the story as told by *Ælian* (*Varia Hist.*, xiii. 40): “Themistocles, happening upon a collar of Persian gold lying on the ground, said to his servant: ‘Pick up this treasure-trove,’ pointing to the collar, ‘thou art not Themistocles, I trow !’”

Decked with golden bracelets and collars: this “barbaric splendor” made a great impression on the Greek fancy. Familiar to countless school-boys, and lingering in the memory of many from the time of their school days, is the lively description of Xenophon in his *Anabasis* (i. 5, 8). The baggage-waggons of Cyrus were hindered by narrow and muddy roads, and the barbarian detachment ordered to extricate them seemed to the impatient prince to work too slowly. “As if in a passion he ordered the noblest Persians in his train to help hasten on the waggons. Then was seen a fine specimen of their famous discipline ; they snatched off their long purple robes on the spot, and dashed, as one would run a race, right down a steep hill, wearing those costly tunics of theirs, and those embroidered trousers,— some too with collars round their necks and bracelets round their arms,— and straightway, with all these on, they leaped into the mud, and sooner than one had thought it possible, they brought the waggons out high and dry.”

XVIII. 2. **Antiphates:** this story of the faded beauty and the convalescent lover is found only here.

Treated him like a plane-tree: in the *Morals*, p. 541 E (*De se ipsum laud.*, vi.), Plutarch has Themistocles say to the Athenians: “Upon every storm you fly to my branches for shelter; yet when it is fair, you pluck my leaves as you pass by.” In *Ælian* (*Varia Hist.*, ix. 18), the fine metaphor is expanded exhaustively and tiresomely.

XVIII. 3. **The Seriphian:** made famous by this anecdote, like the Eretrian in xi. 4. Seriphos was one of the smallest and most insignificant of the Cyclades group of islands, and the point of the story lies in this insignificance. As the story was originally told, another islet had this pre-eminence in insignificance, viz. Belbina, just off the promontory of

Sunium. "On the return of Themistocles to Athens, Timodemus of Aphidnæ, who was one of his enemies, but otherwise a man of no repute, became so maddened with envy that he openly railed against him, and reproaching him with his journey to Sparta, said, 't was not his own merit that had won him honor from the men of Lacedæmon, but the fame of Athens, his country.' Then Themistocles, seeing that Timodemus repeated this phrase unceasingly, replied, 'Thus stands the case, my friend; I had never got this honor from the Spartans had I been a Belbinite, nor thou, hadst thou been an Athenian'" (*Herod.*, viii. 125).

A few years only after Herodotus thus told the story, Seriphos was famous for insignificance, as is clear from a joke in the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes (425 B. C.). In a comic plea defending the Spartans for going to war with Athens on behalf of their Megarian allies, Dicaeopolis says (540 ff.): "'It was n't right,' some one will say; but tell me, then, what *was* right! Do you suppose that if a Lacedæmonian customs cruiser had confiscated as contraband of war some Seriphian's little puppy-dog, you would have sat quietly at home?" Sparta resented Athens' treatment of Megara, as Athens would have resented Sparta's slightest mistreatment of one of the least of her allies. Gradually Seriphos displaced Belbina in the story, and, as orators and rhetoricians used it, more point was given it by having the interlocutor of Themistocles a native of the islet selected for its utter insignificance. In this form Plato gives the story (*Republic*, p. 329 E): "I might answer them" (the aged Cephalus is the speaker) "as Themistocles answered the Seriphian who was abusing him and saying that he was famous not for his own merits but because he was an Athenian: 'If you had been an Athenian and I a Seriphian, neither of us would have been famous.'" From Plato, Cicero takes the story (*De senectute*, 8): "Nec hercule," inquit, "si ego Seriphius essem, nec tu, si Atheniensis, clarus unquam fuisses."

The Festival-Day and the Day After: this fable is found only in Plutarch; here, and *Quæstiones Romanæ*, xxv.

(*Morals*, p. 270 B); *De fortuna Romanorum*, viii. (*Morals*, p. 320 F).

XVIII. 4. The boy was the most powerful of all the Hellenes: the claim is put into the mouth of the boy himself in Plutarch's tract *De liberis educandis*, ii. (*Morals*, p. 1 C), in illustration of an inborn arrogance sometimes found in sons of famous sires. In his *Cato Major*, viii., Plutarch gives the story quite another form. "Discoursing of the power of women: 'Men,' said Cato, 'usually command women; but we Romans command all men, and the women command us.' But this indeed is borrowed from the sayings of Themistocles, who, when his son was making many demands of him by means of his mother, said, 'O woman, the Athenians command the Greeks; I command the Athenians; but you command me, and your son commands you; so let him use his authority sparingly, since, foolish as he is, he is the most powerful of the Hellenes.'" Thus again a good story is made to serve very different purposes.

This son must have been the Cleopantus referred to in *c.* xxxii. 1.

It had an excellent neighbor: this story Plutarch uses only here, and it occurs again only in Stobæus (compiling about 500 A. D.).

Suitors for his daughter's hand: among the various explanations of the way in which Cimon got the money to pay the fine of his father Miltiades, there was one which claimed for him a wealthy marriage, in consequence of advice given a wealthy man by Themistocles, to seek for his daughter a man without money rather than money without a man (*Diodorus*, Frag. 31). As Cicero tells the story, too, Themistocles gives the good advice to one who consults him (*De officiis*, ii. 71): "'Ego vero,' inquit, 'malo virum qui pecunia egeat, quam pecuniam quæ viro.'" So the story stands also in *Valerius Maximus* (a compiler of the first century A. D.), vii. 2, 9. It is clear that Plutarch has given it a more personal flavor by making Themistocles act out the principle, instead of recommending it to another.

XIX. 1. Straightway: in the fall of 479 B. C., for Plutarch passes over here the events of the year following the battle of Salamis. These culminated in the victory of Platæa, and the rivals of Themistocles,—Aristides and Xanthippus,—had the command of the Athenian land and sea forces. Themistocles and his plans for exclusively naval operations were set aside in order to secure the co-operation of Sparta in a defence of Attica against Mardonius. This gap in Plutarch's story is supplied by chapters x.-xxi. of the *Aristides*.

As Theopompos relates: the version of this historian (see the Introduction, p. 38) was sure to be inimical to Athens and Themistocles. Andocides, in his oration "On the Peace with Lacedæmon" (§ 38), which was delivered in 393 B. C., speaks of the Athenians as having bought immunity from punishment for their deceit. This may have suggested the charge of bribery to Ephorus. But charges of venality have always been stock charges.

As the majority say: including and starting with Thucydides, whose inimitable story of the "stratagem" (i. 89-92) became the standard version. Plutarch abridges, but otherwise reproduces fairly well the account of Thucydides. The most important omissions due to his condensation are the following items: (1) the Spartan embassy to Athens to protest in the name of the Peloponnesian alliance against the rebuilding of the walls of Athens, to which the Athenians, by advice of Themistocles, reply that they will send an embassy to Sparta to discuss the whole matter; (2) the craft of Themistocles in proposing that he himself be sent on as one member of this embassy, but that his two colleagues on the embassy, Aristides and Habronichus (see the note on ix. 1), delay to join him until the walls of Athens could be carried, by the efforts of the whole population, to a defensible height; (3) the arrival at Sparta of the delayed colleagues of Themistocles, for whom, as well as for Themistocles, the prominent Spartans who had been sent on to find out the truth about the building of the walls were made to serve

as hostages; (4) the fact that the Spartan friendship for Themistocles furthered his scheme, and, at first, softened the anger natural at its success.

Polyarchus: Thucydides speaks indefinitely of "travellers from Athens" as bringers of the accusations, and of the hostility of "the allies" of Sparta to the rebuilding projects of Athens. Of course the Æginetans were among the bitterest foes of Athens (see the note on iv. 1), and an individual Æginetan name may have been suggested to Plutarch by the story of Polycritus the Æginetan and his taunting Themistocles during the battle of Salamis (*Herod.*, viii. 92). Later inventive tradition does not stand at names.

XIX. 2. Equipped the Piræus: *i.e.* resumed the fortification of the entire peninsula. This peninsula afforded three natural harbors, Munychia, Zea and Piræus (in the narrower sense). These fortifications Themistocles had begun in the year of his archonship (483-2). "By his advice, they built the wall of such a width that two waggons carrying the stones could meet and pass on the top; this width may still be traced at the Piræus; inside there was no rubble or mortar, but the whole wall was made up of large stones hewn square, which were clamped on the outer face with iron and lead" (*Thucyd.*, i. 93, 3-5).

Counteracting the policies of the ancient kings: the rest of the paragraph seems to be original with Plutarch, and is his naïve way of putting the undoubted truth that Themistocles converted Athens from an agricultural into a maritime state. The old country-loving habits of the people of Attica are touchingly described by Thucydides (ii. 14 f.).

As it is said: by rationalistic interpreters of the myth. This myth was current at Athens in the time of Herodotus (viii. 55), and the strife between Athena and Poseidon for the possession of Attica was represented on Athenian coins, and above all in the west pediment of the Parthenon. The general outlines of the myth were as follows. Poseidon visited Attica, and as a token that he had taken possession of it, caused a small salt spring to flow on the Athenian acropo-

lis. Athena also visited the land, and as token of her assumption of ownership, planted an olive tree on the same acropolis, and near Poseidon's spring. She took the precaution to have Cecrops, the king of the land, witness her act of assumption. A dispute arising between the two deities for the possession of the land, the gods (or, as some said, the inhabitants of Attica) decided in favor of the claim of Athena, on the witness of Cecrops. Both gods appealed to their "tokens" in support of their claims. See Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, pp. xxv. f., 440 f.; Frazer's *Pausanias*, vol. ii., p. 308 ff. The point which the "ancient Athenian kings" wished the people of Attica to see in the myth was that the agricultural "token" carried the day over that of the god of the sea and of ships.

XIX. 3. **As Aristophanes says:** the Sausage-seller, recounting the good deeds of Themistocles, with whom his adversary (Cleon) has boldly compared himself, says: "He made our city's cup run over, though he found it very full, and, as she sat a-breakfasting, kneaded Piræus up as cake for her" (*Knights*, 814 f.). Plutarch would correct the comic poet's expression in so far as it implies that the Piræus was an appendage to the upper city. The reverse was the case,—or would have been, had Themistocles been allowed to have his way. "The Piræus appeared to him to be of more real consequence than the upper city. He was fond of telling the Athenians that if they were hard pressed they should go down to the Piræus and fight the world at sea" (*Thucyd.*, i. 93, 7).

Into the hands of skippers, etc.: Plutarch is thinking again of his Plato, the passages cited above in the note on iv. 3.

The bema in Pnyx: the stone rostrum from which the speakers addressed the assembly on the slopes of the Pnyx-hill, just southwest of the Acropolis. Some such change in the position of the bema may have been made as is here indicated, but the reason given for the change is purely fanciful.

The thirty tyrants: the oligarchs to whom Lysander the Spartan entrusted the government of captured Athens in 404 B. C. Their power lasted only four months. They undoubtedly had the sentiments attributed to them here, but hardly the folly.

XX. 1. This famous story of the incendiary stratagem of Themistocles, told also in the *Aristides*, xxii., and in Cicero, *De officiis*, iii. 11, 49 (whence it is repeated in *Valerius Maximus*, vi. 5, 7), is probably an invention of the rhetorical schools to illustrate the contrast between justice and expediency, two qualities of which Aristides and Themistocles came to be personal types. As Themistocles defeated the design of Sparta to prevent the fortification of Athens by his "stratagem" of the embassy, so, by a similar stratagem, Ephorus (*Diodorus*, xi. 42, 43) has him secure the fortification of the Piræus, the plan for which he first imparts, with the elaborate secrecy of the present story, to two men selected by the people to receive it. In the entirely trustworthy narrative of Thucydides (see the notes on xix. 2) there is no hint of secrecy or stratagem.

The original form of the present story was perhaps as follows: "Themistocles plans to burn the Spartan and Peloponnesian fleet at its winter station, in order to obtain the naval leadership of the Hellenes." There was no opportunity for such a stroke in the winter of 479-8 or 478-7, where the story, as told by Plutarch, belongs chronologically; though in the winter of 476/5 such a fleet did winter at Pagasæ, the great Thessalian port (Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, iii. pp. 85 f.), and in 455 an Athenian fleet under Tolmides "sailed round Peloponnesus and burnt the Lacedæmonian dock-yard" at Gythium (*Thucyd.*, i. 108, 5). The former event gives desired detail to the story of Plutarch, the latter to that of Cicero. Neither story is historically possible, or consistent in its detail.

XX. 2. **The Amphictyonic conventions:** the Delphic sacred league is meant. This included twelve tribes, namely: the Thessalians, Perrhaebians, Magnesians, Achæans (of

Phthia), Dolopians, Malians, Ænianians, Locrians, Phocians, Bœotians, Dorians (both of Doris and the Peloponnesus), and Ionians (the Athenians and Eubœans). The convention was composed of delegates and representatives from each of these tribes, and "met half-yearly, alternately at Delphi and Thermopylæ; originally and chiefly for common religious purposes, but indirectly and occasionally embracing political and social objects along with them." Of these twelve tribes, all but the Thespians and Platæans among the Bœotians, the Peloponnesian Dorians, and the Ionians, had put themselves on the side of the Medes. The Argives, who were represented in the Amphictyonic assembly by the Spartans, were neutral.

Thirty-one cities: this was exactly the number of the names of those who had fought against the Medes, as they were inscribed on the bronze coils of the serpents supporting the golden tripod dedicated by the victors at Delphi. "When all the booty had been brought together, a tenth of the whole was set apart for the Delphian god; and hence was made the golden tripod, which stands on the bronze serpent with the three heads, quite close to the altar" (*Herod.*, ix. 81, 1). "The bronze serpent on which the tripod rested is still to be seen in the *Atmeidan*, the ancient hippodrome, at Constantinople, whither it was transferred by Constantine. The monument consists really, not of a single bronze serpent, but of three such serpents so skilfully intertwined that their bodies appear as a single spiral column" (*Frazer, Pausanias*, commentary on x. 13, 9, vol. v., pp. 299–307, to which the reader is referred for a full description of this most interesting monument).

Plutarch is our sole authority for this Amphictyonic policy of Themistocles, but it is not in itself improbable. We get a glimpse of action on the events of the Persian war by the Delphic Amphictyony in *Herodotus* (vii. 213).

Obnoxious to the Lacedæmonians: no other reason for this is needed than the success of Themistocles in thwarting the Spartan scheme to prevent the fortification of Athens.

To win this success, Themistocles deliberately sacrificed an unexampled popularity at Sparta, and left the field free for the man who succeeded him not only in Spartan, but in Athenian favor. This man "was taken up with favor by the Lacedæmonians as soon as they became hostile to Themistocles, and therefore wished Cimon, young as he was, to have the more weight and power in Athens" (Plutarch, *Cimon*, xvi. 2).

XXI. 1. **To the allies**: *i.e.* the island-states which afterwards became the allies of Athens. Most of them had joined the Persians, and the victorious Greeks tried to make them pay dearly for their defection. They laid siege to Andros, when it refused to pay the sum demanded, without success; but other islands, frightened by the treatment of Andros, complied with the demands made upon them. All this was procedure of the allied Greeks, and perfectly proper; but later tradition wrested these measures, in which Themistocles, as admiral of the Athenian fleet, was prominent, into charges of attempted blackmail for his own personal uses. This is the representation of Herodotus, who shows us Athenian feeling when he wrote (viii. 111, 112): "For Themistocles had required the Andrians to pay down a sum of money; and they had refused, being the first of all the islanders who did so. To his declaration that the money must needs be paid, as the Athenians had brought with them two mighty gods, Persuasion and Necessity, they made reply that Athens might well be a great and glorious city, since she was blest with such excellent gods; but Andros was wretchedly poor, stinted for land, and cursed with two unprofitable gods, who always dwelt with them, and would never quit the island,—to wit, Poverty and Helplessness. These were the gods of the Andrians, and therefore they would not pay the money. For the power of Athens could not possibly be stronger than the Andrians' inability."

XXI. 2. **Timocreon of Rhodes**: see the Introduction, pp. 30 f.

The restoration of exiles: the victories of the Greeks had been very naturally followed by revolutions in the islands favoring the Persian cause, and the banishment of the aristocratic sympathizers with Persia.

Pausanias: The Spartan victor of Platæa; Xanthippus and Leutichidas were the victors of Mycale, Athenian and Spartan respectively.

Leto loathes Themistocles: Leto was mother of Apollo, whose oracle was the foe of falsehood.

Ialysos: one of the three chief cities of Rhodes.

At the Isthmus: *i. e.* at the Isthmian games, which were held at Corinth every two years (the first and third of each Olympiad), in spring and summer alternately. The charge of the malicious poet is that Themistocles played the parsimonious host on a grand occasion. See v. 1-3 and notes.

XXI. 3. The latter's own exile and condemnation: as narrated in the following chapter.

Brushless: *i. e.* I am not the only fox that has lost its tail, escaping from the trap of prosecution.

XXII. 1. Why are ye vexed, etc.: this *mot* of Themistocles is mentioned only by Plutarch, — here, and *Morals*, p. 541 E (just before the *mot* cited in the note on xviii. 2); p. 812 B.

Melité: a city-deme, or ward (see the note on i. 1), lying to the west of the Acropolis. It was an extended, elevated, and fashionable quarter of the city, where Callias also, the “Pit-wealthy” (*Aristides*, v. 4), and, later, Phocion lived.

XXII. 2. A small portrait statue: there is no good reason to believe that any authentic likeness of Themistocles has come down to us. The bust in the Vatican representing a typical Greek warrior, probably of the fourth century, B. C., given as frontispiece of this volume, was arbitrarily named “Themistocles” by Visconti in his *Iconographie Grècque* (1811), i. p. 137.

Ostracism: see the note on v. 5, and *cf. Aristides*, vii. Again, as always, Plutarch fails to grasp the political signifi-

cance of the “ostracism.” It was a far-sighted provision of Cleisthenes to prevent any influential aristocrat like Pisistratus from making an alliance with either one of two evenly matched political parties, and overthrowing the democratic forms of government. Themistocles was ostracized precisely as Aristides was ostracized, not on charges of treason, for these were made subsequently, but because one party,—in this case the aristocratic party, led by Aristides and Cimon, and supported by Spartan influence,—became too strong for the rival party,—in this case the democratic or popular party headed by Themistocles,—and wanted a freer hand in the management of affairs. The date of Themistocles’ ostracism is not definitely known. It must have been between 476, the date of his dramatic victory (see the note on v. 3), and 471, the well attested year of his flight, regarding as unhistorical the story in Aristotle’s *Constitution of Athens* (c. xxv. 3, 4) of Themistocles’ participation in the overthrow of the Areiopagus at Athens in 462.

XXIII. 1. **Sojourning at Argos**: this city had remained neutral during the invasion of Xerxes, out of hatred toward Sparta. Having now himself incurred the hatred of Sparta, Themistocles naturally sought residence there. The length of this residence is uncertain, within the limits 476–1 (see the preceding note).

Ground for proceeding against him: Thucydides, in the memorable digression already cited several times (i. 128–138), after narrating the death of Pausanias, says (135): “Now the evidence which proved that Pausanias was in league with Persia implicated Themistocles; and the Lacedæmonians sent ambassadors to the Athenians charging him likewise with treason, and demanding that he should receive the same punishment. The Athenians agreed, but having been ostracized he was living at the time in Argos, whence he used to visit other parts of the Peloponnese. The Lacedæmonians were very ready to join in the pursuit; so they and the Athenians sent officers, who were told to arrest him wherever they should find him.”

Leobotes the son of Alcmeon: this definite information probably comes through Craterus (see the Introduction, p. 40), and is trustworthy. In his *Aristides*, c. xxv., Plutarch's memory plays him false, and he speaks of the author of the indictment as Alcmeon.

XXIII. 2. His grand scheme of treachery: Plutarch assumes that the reader is familiar with the details. They are given in full by Thucydides (i. 128–130). According to this account, Pausanias planned to connect himself by marriage with the King of Persia, and to become a sort of Satrap of all the Hellenes.

A letter he had received from the King: this is given in full in Thucydides (c. 129). If it is a genuine document, and not literary embellishment, we are to suppose that it, with the documents "implicating" Themistocles (§ 3), came into the hands of the Spartan authorities after the death of Pausanias. Thucydides does not make clear just how these documents "implicated" Themistocles; but his general attitude toward the question is not unfavorable to the interpretation here given by Plutarch,—Themistocles was aware, but gave no information of the treasonable scheme of Pausanias.

XXIII. 3. Defended himself in writing: we have no authority for this except Plutarch. It would seem to be a (not unnatural) inference of his from what he read in Thucydides and adopted, together with what he read on the subject in Ephorus and did not adopt, but used as "padding." Ephorus (in *Diod. Sic.*, xi. 54, 55) has two embassies come from Sparta to Athens with charges of treason against Themistocles, one before his ostracism, and one after it, during his residence in Argos. The first set of charges are successfully repelled by Themistocles. This is manifestly pure invention on the part of Ephorus, and Plutarch adopts the main outline of events as given by Thucydides. His phraseology of detail, however, in chapters xxii. and xxiii., is strongly influenced by that of Ephorus.

Earlier accusations: at the process of ostracism, if the words are to be harmonized with the Thucydidean outline

of events ; they are really due, however, to impressions made upon Plutarch by the version of Ephorus (see the preceding note).

The Congress of Hellenes : this phrase also is due to Ephorus, and implies that the Congress of allies which met on the Isthmus in the fall of 481, to take measures to oppose the advance of Xerxes, might be still called together, or met regularly, — a pure invention. Themistocles was summoned to appear at Athens. Failing to do so, he was pronounced guilty of treason, exiled from Hellas, and his property was confiscated.

XXIV. From the time when Themistocles left Hellas with a traitor's punishments visited upon, or suspended over him and all his family, only the main outlines of his career could, in the nature of the case, be known to his former countrymen. But popular tradition delighted to fill in these outlines with all sorts of romantic details, most of which were pure invention. When Thucydides came to write his famous excursus on Pausanias and Themistocles (see the note on xxiii. 2), nearly two generations after the events recorded, he was obliged to thread his way critically through a mass of conflicting stories, most of which were in oral circulation, some of which, probably, had already been recorded by the chronicler, Hellanicus, or the partisan rhapsodist, Stesimbrotus, or the local historian of Lampsacus, Charon. It is thought that he also obtained certain authentic details from the Greek cities in Asia Minor over which Themistocles exercised an authority given him by the Persian king. His account of Themistocles became standard, and is followed in the main by Plutarch, though he introduces variations due either to his own independent interpretation of the probabilities in a given case, or to that of some writer who, like himself, felt at liberty to depart slightly from the outlines or details of the Thucydidean story. It is, of course, not impossible, though seldom probable that such variations rest on authentic contemporary testimony. They may go back to Hellanicus and Stesimbrotus, contemporaries of

Thucydides, either directly or through Ephorus and Heracleides of the fourth century; or they may be independent features of the stories of these later historians. It is now impossible to distinguish. Several general statements of Thucydides have been supplied with detail which is clearly of the inferential sort so common in Scholia and late commentators. The story of Thucydides will be given in full in the following notes, and the reader will make his own comparisons.

XXIV. 1. "Themistocles received information of their purpose" (continuing from the passage cited in the note on xxiii. 1), "and fled from the Peloponnesus to the Corecyraeans, who were under an obligation to him" (*Thucyd.*, i. 136, 1). or, better, "who had recognized him as public benefactor." This honorary title, bestowed by public decree and inscription, required no further services from the recipient, and probably gave him the right of asylum.

Corecyra: the modern Corfú, the most northerly of the larger "Ionian Islands."

For he had served as arbiter, etc.: this explanation is not given by Thucydides, and looks like a manufacture from the quarrel between Corecyra and Corinth over Epidamnus, which was one of the immediate occasions of the Peloponnesian war (*Thucyd.*, i. 24-55). It is uncertain where Plutarch got it. A Scholiast on Thucydides gives an entirely different one, namely, that Themistocles averted from Corecyra the consequences of her failure to unite with the other Greeks against Persia (*cf. c. xx. 2*). This also looks like an invention, based on *Herodotus*, vii. 168; viii. 112.

Leucas: also one of the larger "Ionian Islands," off the coast of Acarnania. It was a colony of Corinth, and nowhere else is any claim of Corecyra upon it mentioned.

XXIV. 2. "The Corecyraeans said that they were afraid to keep him, lest they should incur the enmity of Athens and Lacedæmon; so they conveyed him to the neighboring continent, whither he was followed by the officers, who con-

stantly enquired in which direction he had gone and pursued him everywhere. Owing to an accident he was compelled to stop at the house of Admetus, king of the Molossians, who was not his friend. He chanced to be absent from home, but Themistocles presented himself as a suppliant to his wife, and was instructed by her to take their son and sit at the hearth" (*Thucyd.*, i. 136, 1-3).

The Molossians: one of the three tribes of Epirus, occupying the southern part of the country. It afterwards won supremacy over the whole country, when Alexander, brother of Olympias the wife of Philip of Macedon, was its king, and it furnished Pyrrhus to the world.

Asked some favor: what this was, Thucydides does not state. His words are (continuing the preceding citation): "Admetus soon returned, and then Themistocles told him who he was, adding that if in times past he had opposed any request which Admetus had made to the Athenians, he ought not to retaliate on an exile." He further pleaded that "he had opposed Admetus in a mere matter of business, and not when life was at stake." The same Scholiast who supplies the details of the service rendered the Corcyraeans by Themistocles (xxiv. 1), states that Admetus had once sought an alliance with Athens,— a natural and easy guess.

In a way quite peculiar and extraordinary: this romantic trait in the legend of Themistocles even Thucydides has not the heart to eliminate from his story. It fastened itself in popular tradition all the more easily under the influence of the famous tales of Telephus suppliantly forcing the mercy of Agamemnon by flying to the altar with the boy Orestes, and of Odysseus supplicating king Alcinous from the hearth, at the instigation of the queen Areté. The former may well have been a telling scene in the *Telephus* of Euripides; the latter was familiar from the *Odyssey* (vii. 133-181). It may even be that it was Thucydides who thus blended features of both famous scenes in his story, and not popular tradition. Thucydides does not wholly eschew invented literary ornament.

XXIV. 3. **Some**: who these writers were is unknown. Thucydides is, of course, to be included, though he does not give the name of the queen. We get traces of a still different version in Nepos (*Themistocles*, viii. 4), who has a "little daughter" of Admetus seized by Themistocles to reinforce his appeal for succor.

Certain others: also unknown. It is quite possible that under cover of the plural here (and in the "some" above) Plutarch has a single writer only in mind. Thucydides continues (c. 137, 1): "Admetus, hearing his words, raised him up, together with his own son, from the place where he sat holding the child in his arms, which was the most solemn form of supplication."

Thither his wife and children, etc.: the remainder of the chapter rests on the doubtful authority of Stesimbrotus (see the Introduction, p. 32), whom even Plutarch finds to be self-contradictory.

For this deed: the expedition of Themistocles' family to Epirus was hardly a capital offence. If there is any residual truth at all in these items, it may be inferred that the real gravamen of the charge against Epicrates was that he furnished Themistocles with money to effect his escape to Asia (cf. c. xxv. 3).

Somehow or other: the glaring inconsistency, to Plutarch, is that Themistocles should seek another wife so soon after his Athenian wife joins him in exile.

Hiero: tyrant of Syracuse after his still more famous brother Gelo, who died about 478, and like him fond of having Greek poets like Pindar, Simonides, Bacchylides and *Æschylus* at his court, and of winning victories at Delphi and Olympia. The whole story looks like an invention. Gelo wanted command over all the Hellenic forces if he was to join in resisting Xerxes (*Herod.*, vii. 158). The same ambition is given to his brother Hiero, and Themistocles is made to cater to it with the same assurance by which, as popular tradition had it, he won the favor of Artaxerxes. Hiero died in 467 B.C.

XXV. 1. **Theophrastus**: see the Introduction, p. 41. His work "On Royalty" is not preserved. The illustrative anecdote taken from it has little historic value. It is a stock story to illustrate Athenian hatred of tyranny, based on the undoubted attack upon Dionysius, a later tyrant of Syracuse, made by the orator Lysias in his Olympic oration (388 b. c.). Plutarch therefore refutes a fabricated story of Stesimbrotus with a story as clearly fabricated.

XXV. 2. **Thucydides** says: "Not long afterwards" (continuing from the citation in the note on xxiv. 3) "the Athenians and Lacedæmonians came and pressed him to give up the fugitive, but he refused; and as Themistocles wanted to go to the King, sent him on foot across the country to the sea at Pydna (which was in the kingdom of Alexander). There he found a merchant vessel sailing to Ionia, in which he embarked; it was driven, however, by a storm to the station of the Athenian fleet which was blockading Naxos. He was unknown to his fellow-passengers, but, fearing what might happen, he told the captain who he was and why he fled, threatening if he did not save his life to say that he had been bribed to take him on board. The only hope was that no one should be allowed to leave the ship while they had to remain off Naxos; if he complied with his request, the obligation should be abundantly repaid. The captain agreed, and after anchoring in a rough sea for a day and a night off the Athenian station, he at length arrived at Ephesus. Themistocles rewarded him with a liberal present; for he received soon afterwards from his friends the property which he had deposited at Athens and Argos" (c. 137, 1-3).

The version of the flight from Admetus to Asia which Ephorus gave must have been quite different, judging from *Diodorus*, xi. 56, 2-4: "But soon the Lacedæmonians sent an embassy of the most prominent Spartans to Admetus and demanded the surrender of Themistocles for punishment, accusing him of being the betrayer and defiler of all Hellas. In addition, they said that if he did not surrender the fugitive, they would make war upon him with all the Hel-

lenes. The King was afraid of their threats, but felt pity for his suppliant, and wanted to avoid the disgrace of surrendering him. So he persuaded Themistocles to go away as speedily as possible, unbeknown to the Lacedæmonians, and gave him an abundance of gold to help him in his flight. So Themistocles, since he was driven forth from every refuge, took the money, and fled by night from the country of the Molossians. The king arranged the whole flight with him. He found two youths of Lyncestis who were engaged in traffic, and therefore well acquainted with the roads, and with these Themistocles took to flight. He eluded the Lacedæmonians by travelling in the night, and through the favor and endurance of the youths made his way to Asia. There he had a guest-friend named Lysithides, of great repute and wealth, and with him he took refuge."

Pydna : in southern Macedonia (Pieria), on the Thermaic gulf.

Naxos : the largest island of the Cyclades, which revolted from the League of Delos, probably in 470–469 B.C., and was reduced by the Athenians from the position of an ally to that of a subject (*Thucyd.*, i. 98, 99). The chronology of the period is much disputed. Busolt has Themistocles ostracized in 473–472, condemned as traitor in 471–470, escape from Admetus to Asia in the summer of 469, wander among the coast-cities till the accession of Artaxerxes in 465–464, and then go up to the Persian court (*Griechische Geschichte*, iii. pp. 129–132).

XXV. 3. **The sum total** : it was natural that the later historians and philosophers, like Theopompus and Theophrastus, should seek to give definite figures where Thucydides has only indefinite sums. Malevolent tradition could easily distort also the proportion between the means which Themistocles commanded before and after his political career. The story of Ephorus, cited above under § 2, shows the attempt of a consistent apologist to account for the possession by Themistocles of considerable money when he landed

in Asia,—king Admetus gave it to him. The poverty of Aristides was a favorite rhetorical contrast to the wealth of Themistocles (*Aristides*, c. xxv.), but this also was undoubtedly exaggerated. How malignant popular tradition about the unrighteous extortions of Themistocles became, may be seen from *Herodotus*, viii. 112, where the hero of Salamis is accused of having blackmailed the islanders who sided with the Persians, “in pursuit of his private gain,” “unbeknown to the other captains,”—an utterly absurd charge.

XXVI. Of what intervened between the landing of Themistocles and his visit to Artaxerxes, when the hunted fugitive was establishing communication with friends at home and influential Persians at the court, almost nothing could positively be known. Hence romantic invention was busy to supply the gap. All that Thucydides is willing to affirm is as follows (continuing the citation in the note on xxv. 2): “He then went up into the interior with a certain Persian who dwelt on the coast, and sent a letter to Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, who had lately succeeded to the throne” (c. 137, 3).

XXVI. 1. **Cyme**: an Æolian city, opposite the southern coast of Lesbos. Thucydides, as has been seen, makes the fugitive land at Ephesus, a natural refuge after the peril at Naxos. Another tradition, which cannot be surely traced, made the fugitive suffer peril of capture by an Athenian fleet at Thasos, an island in the northern Ægean. This island was easy of access from Pydna (c. xxv. 2), and, like Naxos, revolted from the League of Delos, only to be reduced to subjection by the Athenians. The date of this revolt (466), however, would imply an altogether improbable residence of Themistocles at the court of Admetus. But an account of Themistocles’ flight which used Thasos rather than Naxos for the sensational peril of capture by his own countrymen would more naturally select some Greek city opposite Thasos for the Asiatic landing-place. Cyme must have been a port of some size, for the fleet of Xerxes wintered

there after Salamis (*Herod.*, viii. 130). It was the birth-place of the historian Ephorus, and may have been selected by him as the landing-place for Themistocles. Unfortunately, Diodorus condenses Ephorus at this point so much that no certainty can be felt on the question. The version of Ephorus which Diodorus gives may be seen in the citation on xxv. 2.

Nicogenes: the name is Lysithides in Ephorus, but the description of both is the same. Lysithides, too, in Ephorus (*Diodorus*, xi. 56, 5-8), is a friend of the King, and concocts the plan to bring Themistocles safely up to him which Plutarch describes with much the same language, in § 3.

For a few days: days instead of years are necessary if Themistocles goes up to meet Xerxes, and not Artaxerxes, as the more romantic writers insisted. See the note on xxvii. 1, and that on "Naxos," xxv. 2.

XXVI. 2. This dream of Themistocles is found nowhere else. Plutarch probably got it from Phanias, as well as other marvellous incidents in the remainder of the biography.

The following verse: a trochaic tetrameter catalectic (the metre of Longfellow's "Psalm of Life"). The thought is a prevalent one: "The Night for Counsel!" "Her dreams shall give thee wisdom to succeed!"

An eagle: dream-symbol of the King, with whom Themistocles was to find the peace and security symbolized by the "herald's wand."

XXVI. 3. **Tents . . . upon . . . waggons**: the Persian "Harmamaxa," or litter. Xerxes had one, besides his splendid war-chariot, and "was accustomed," according to Herodotus (vii. 41), "every now and then, when the fancy took him, to alight from his chariot and travel in a litter." These luxurious vehicles impressed the Greek fancy, and became symbolical of Persian effeminacy. Æschylus called them "wheeled tents" (*Persians*, 1000 f.). Cyrus the Younger reviewed his army in a chariot, the Cilician queen, Epyaxa, accompanying him on her "harmamaxa" (*Xenophon, Anab.*, i. 2, 16-18). The loitering Athenian envoys to the Persian

court, on high pay *per diem*, "drag their tedious way along the 'dusty, dull Caÿstrian plains,' tented wayfarers, smothered with cushions in the litters, tired to death" (Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 68-71). See also the notes on xviii. 1.

XXVII. 1. Charon, Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus, Heraclides: see the Introduction, pp. 37, 42, 43.

It was Xerxes to whom he came: it was of course a far more romantic *dénouement* to have the victor of Salamis seek refuge with the King whom he had vanquished at Salamis, and perhaps the vague language of Herodotus justifies us in ranging that historian with Plutarch's second class, corrected in that case by the explicit testimony of Thucydides (cited in the note on xxvi. *ad init.*). Herodotus says (viii. 109, *ad fin.*): "All this Themistocles said" (dissuading the Athenians from destroying the bridges of Xerxes), "in the hope of establishing a claim upon the Persian; for he wanted to have a safe retreat in case any mischance should befall him at Athens,—which indeed came to pass afterwards." The tendency of popular tradition, certainly, would be to change from Artaxerxes to Xerxes, rather than *vice versa*. Where such authorities are at variance, one agrees readily with Nepos (*Themistocles*, ix.): "Scio plerosque ita scripsisse, Themistoclen Xerxe regnante in Asiam transisse; sed ego potissimum Thucydidi credo, quod et ætate proximus de iis, qui illorum temporum historiam reliquerunt, et eiusdem civitatis fuit. Is autem ait ad Artaxerxem eum venisse."

The chronological data: see the note on "Naxos," xxv. 2.

Be that as it may: *i. e.* whether it was Xerxes or Artaxerxes to whom Themistocles came. With these words Plutarch returns from a critical digression to the story of Phanias, whom he is following now, since Thucydides does not furnish him with sufficient dramatic detail.

Artabanus: the murderer of Xerxes, who helped Artaxerxes to the throne through the death of an older brother, and who ended his career of bloody scheming when he was slain as conspirator against the life of his new master. He

is very appropriately selected as the mediator between Themistocles and the King, though the details of the anecdote are clearly invented. Thucydides (i. 137, 4), as we have seen, has Themistocles, after coming up into the interior "with one of the Persians who dwelt on the coast," send a letter to Artaxerxes, claiming that a debt of gratitude was due him for services rendered Xerxes before and after Salamis (see the citation in the note on xvi. 1), and concluding: "Now I am here, able to do you many other services, and persecuted by the Hellenes for your sake. Let me wait a year, and then I will in person explain why I have come." It is not improbable that Themistocles had one or more interviews with the King, and that this favor was obtained through Artabanus, the prime favorite of the King, but all details of the interviews both with Artabanus and Artaxerxes are products of Greek fancy.

XXVII. 2. **To pay obeisance**: *i. e.* to prostrate one's self and kiss the ground before the object of homage. This peculiarly Persian custom excited the liveliest interest among the Greeks, and was used by them as a stock illustration of the abjectness required by despotism. It became therefore a standing query, how each one of the many Hellenes who, first and last, found access to the Persian court, adjusted himself to this custom. His natural feeling should have been that expressed by Xenophon in his first speech to the betrayed and disheartened "Ten Thousand" after his election as general (*Anab.* iii. 2, 13): "Proofs of these victories" (of your ancestors over the ancestors of your opponents, the Persians) "are to be seen in the trophies erected; but the greatest witness is the freedom of the cities in which ye were born and bred; for ye pay obeisance to no man as your master, but to the gods alone." So Sperthias and Bulis, the Spartan envoys to the Persian court, "when they were come to Susa into the King's presence, and the guards ordered them to fall down and pay obeisance, and went so far as to use force to compel them, refused, and said they would never do any such thing, even were their heads thrust down to the

ground, for it was not their custom to pay obeisance to men, nor had they come to Persia for that purpose" (*Herod.*, vii. 136). Possibly this story of Spartan attitude toward the "obeisance" suggested the story here told of Themistocles, — both capital stories, but nothing more. Nepos tells a story very like this, — Chiliarch and all, — of the Athenian admiral Conon. Desiring an interview with the King, Conon is told by the Chiliarch, or Grand Vizier, that a personal interview will make the "obeisance" by Conon absolutely necessary; but that he can secure, through the offices of the Chiliarch, all that he wishes from the King by letter, in case the obeisance is repugnant to him. Conon replied that the obeisance was not repugnant to him personally, but he thought it beneath the dignity of the sovereign city whose envoy he was to abandon its customs for those of the Barbarians (*Conon*, iii.). Details of this story also seem to have been worked into the Themistocles story.

XXVII. 3. **Eratosthenes**: see the Introduction, p. 43. It was perhaps in connection with some geographical item, like the transportation of the Eretrians by Datis and Artaphernes to Susa (*Herod.*, vi. 101, 115, 119), that Eratosthenes came to speak thus of Themistocles.

XXVIII. 1. The cautious story of Thucydides, of which this and the following chapter is an imaginative enlargement, is as follows (i. 138, 1, 2): "The King" (on reading the letter, the conclusion of which is cited in the note on "Artabanus," xxvii. 1) "is said to have been astonished at the boldness of his character, and told him to wait a year as he proposed. In the interval he made himself acquainted, as far as he could, with the Persian language and the manners of the country. When the year was over, he arrived at the court and became a greater man there than any Hellene had ever been before. This was due partly to his previous reputation, and partly to the hope which he inspired in the King's mind that he would enslave Hellas to him; above all, his ability had been tried and not found wanting" (here follows the famous eulogy, part of which is cited in the note on ii. 1).

“I who thus come to thee,” etc.: the speech thus put into the mouth of Themistocles is a rhetorical enlargement of the letter, the contents of which are given by Thucydides (i. 137, 4, already cited). Both speech and letter must be regarded as literary embellishment, though the letter of Thucydides, like the speeches which he puts into the mouths of his personages, undoubtedly contains “the sentiments proper to the occasion” (i. 22).

“I hindered the pursuit of the Hellenes”: this speech, unlike the letter in Thucydides, alludes only to the second, and less authentic service of Themistocles to Xerxes, namely, the second Salamis “stratagem” (c. xvi. 2, 3).

XXVIII. 2. “Take my foes to witness,” etc.: “persecuted by the Hellenes for your sake” in the letter of Thucydides.

The vision: *cf. c. xxvi. 2.*

The oracle: mentioned nowhere else.

Dodonæan Zeus: the Zeus worshipped at Dodona in Epirus, one of the earliest shrines and oracles of the Hellenic race, the influence of which only slowly paled before that of Delphi. Excavations have fixed the site of the shrine near the modern Ioannina, and brought to light votive inscriptions dating from the fifth to the first century B.C.

XXVIII. 3. Arimanus: *i.e.* Ahriman, the Evil Spirit of the Persian religion, the enemy of Ahura Mazda (Ormazd).

Details of story in *Diodorus* (xi. 56, 57) are still more extravagant. Lysithides, the friend who brings Themistocles in the woman’s litter safely across the country, introduces him into the presence of the King, who is persuaded that the fugitive has done him no wrong, and remits the penalties hanging over his head. But Themistocles at once falls into still greater peril. Mandané, the sister of the King, was mother of the three youths whom Themistocles had been forced to sacrifice just before the battle of Salamis (*Themistocles*, xiii. 2). She inflames the Persian nobles to demand of the King the punishment of Themistocles. But the King institutes a court of judgment from among the

nobles, and before this court Themistocles, having been given time to learn the Persian language, pleads his own cause successfully. The King is overjoyed, loads Themistocles with gifts, gives him a noble Persian woman of great beauty to wife, a sumptuous establishment to live in, and three cities for revenue.

XXIX. 1. **The reward proclaimed**: *cf. c. xxvi. 1.*

XXIX. 2. **Asked for a year**: by letter, according to Thucydides (cited in the notes on xxvii. 1. and xxviii. 1).

Learned the Persian language: “as far as he could,” says Thucydides, implying scant success; “sufficiently to have interviews with the King by himself,” says Plutarch; well enough to plead his cause triumphantly before a tribunal of Persian nobles, according to the sensational tale in *Diodorus* (cited in the note on xxviii. 3); “so that he is said to have pleaded before the King far more skilfully than the native Persians,” says Nepos (*Themistocles*, c. x.). Here are three degrees of romantic exaggeration.

XXIX. 3. **Far beyond those paid to other foreigners**: “became a greater man at court than any Hellene had ever been before,” according to Thucydides. The details which follow are the inevitable supplements of romantic tradition, — inferential inventions.

The Magian lore: the worship of the elements, — earth, air, fire and water, — and the principles of soothsaying, divining and conjuring, which were cultivated by the Magian priesthood in opposition to the purer rites and doctrines of Zoroaster.

Demaratus the Spartan: type of the Spartan refugee at the Persian court. He was historically a deposed king of Sparta, who took refuge from his enemies with Darius, and accompanied Xerxes on his expedition to Greece, hoping for restoration to his throne. He plays the rôle of the wise but unheeded counsellor in the story of Herodotus (vi. 51–70; viii. 3; 101–105; 209; 234–237). The story told of him here was in Phylarchus, an historian of whom Plutarch speaks very disparagingly in xxxii. 2. It was a happy fancy on the

part of some romantic writer, Phylarchus or another, or possibly Plutarch himself, to bring the great Spartan into relations with the great Athenian refugee by means of this story of the tiara.

XXIX. 4. **Closer relations:** as in the last decade of the Peloponnesian war, and from that time on till Alexander's conquest.

"We should have been undone," etc.: *i.e.* but for our loss of home and country we should have lost this luxury,—a famous *mot*, evidently, which Plutarch quotes twice besides (*Morals*, 328 F = *De Alexandri fortuna*, v., and 602 A = *De exilio*, vii.), the first time apropos of the three cities given Themistocles for revenue, the second time, as here, apropos of a "royal feast."

Most writers: including and starting with Thucydides, who says (i. 138, 5): "the King assigned to him, for bread, Magnesia, which produced a revenue of fifty talents in the year; for wine, Lampsacus, which was considered to be the richest in wine of any district then known; and Myus for meats." Lampsacus was a famous Greek city on the Hellespont, near the mouth of the Propontis. Magnesia and Myus were Greek cities of Caria, in the valley of the Maeander, near Miletus. It is probable that only Magnesia was completely under Persian control, and that the other two cities were assigned to Themistocles in the hope that his influence over them would restore them to Persia. This oriental custom of assigning cities or even provinces to royal favorites meant simply that the revenues from them were set aside for the favorite's use. Certain Syrian villages in which the "Ten Thousand" encamped, were assigned to Queen Parysatis "for girdle-money" (*Anab.*, i. 4, 9). The Greek city of Anthilla, in Egypt, near Naucratis, "which is a place of note, is assigned expressly to the wife of the ruler of Egypt for the time being, to keep her in shoes. Such has been the custom ever since Egypt fell under the Persian yoke" (*Herod.*, ii. 98). Plato makes Socrates say (*Alcibiades*, i., p. 123): "Why, I have been informed by a credible person who went

up to the Great King, that he passed through a large tract of excellent land, extending for nearly a day's journey, which the people of the country called 'the Queen's girdle,' and another which they called her veil; and several other fair and fertile districts, which were reserved for the adornment of the Queen, and are named after her several habiliments."

Neanthes, Phanias: see the Introduction, pp. 44, 41.

Percoté, Palæscepsis: the first a small but ancient city on the Hellespont below Lampsacus, mentioned thrice in the *Iliad*; the second some distance inland, in the heart of Mysia, in later times famous as a seat of philosophic studies, and as the place where Aristotle's library was for some time hidden, before it was finally brought to Rome (*Strabo*, xiii., pp. 608, 609).

XXX. This night adventure is now told only here. It sounds like Phanias.

XXX. 1. **His commission to deal with Hellenic affairs:** popular tradition made Themistocles promise the King to subdue Hellas to him,—a manifest absurdity. Thucydides speaks guardedly of "the hope which he inspired in the King's mind that he would enslave Hellas to him," and distinctly rejects the story that "he poisoned himself because he felt that he could not accomplish what he had promised to the King." It was the ability and wisdom of Themistocles, according to Thucydides, which won the favor of the King. He undoubtedly served the King as adviser in Hellenic affairs.

Upper Phrygia: Phrygia Major, the great central plateau of Asia Minor, distinguished from the Troad, or Phrygia Minor.

Pisidians: dwellers in the mountains between Phrygia Major and Pamphylia, a predatory folk.

Mother of the Gods: Rhea, or Cybèle, Magna Mater, revered in all Asia Minor. What was held to be her oldest shrine was at Pessinus in Phrygia Major, under Mount Dindymon, whence the goddess is called *Dindymené* (as in § 2). "She is not the ordinary earth-goddess of fruitful

valleys and fields, but rather a mountain-goddess, whose seat is in the mysterious privacy of mountain forests, and who is worshipped in mystic and orgiastic rites as Mother Nature" (Robert-Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, pp. 638 f.).

XXXI. 1, 2. This story is now found only here. It is probably an invention. The restoration by Alexander the Great, or his successors, of the treasures taken from Athens by Xerxes, especially of the familiar bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton (*Pausanias*, i. 8, 5, with Frazer's notes), led to the association of another well known and popular bronze in like manner with Themistocles. The bronze statue of Artemis, dedicated on the Acropolis by the sons of Themistocles (*Pausanias*, i. 26, 4), gave this invention credence.

Water commissioner: it is only in this anecdote that we learn of such an office, which, however, would seem to have been a necessary one in a city so dependent as Athens was on an artificial water supply. See Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiquities*, p. 372.

Made and dedicated from fines: so at Olympia (*Pausanias*, v. 21, 2), at the foot of Mount Cronius, on the left of the way leading into the stadium, on a terrace of stone, where the athletes going to their various contests would surely see them, there stood bronze images of Zeus, sixteen in number. "These images were made from the fines imposed on athletes who wantonly violated the rules of the games: they are called Zanes (Zeuses) by the natives."

Theopompos: the item clearly testifies to a depreciatory version of Themistocles' Asiatic life. He was a vagabond. See the Introduction, p. 38.

Had a house in Magnesia: he was "governor" of the rich district in which the city lay (*Thucydides*, i. 138, 5), and coined money in his own name, like other sovereigns. Two of these coins are still in existence, one plated, the other silver, of the value of an Attic *didrachmon*. We get glimpses of a beneficent activity of Themistocles in this position, which must have been very much like that of the



MAGNESIAN DIDRACHM, 465-458 (?) B.C.

(COINAGE OF THEMISTOCLES)

BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS



ATHENIAN DIDRACHM, 527-430 B.C.

BRITISH MUSEUM



ATHENIAN BRONZES (REVERSE) OF THE ROMAN IMPERIAL PERIOD: MONUMENT OF VICTORY ERECTED ON SALAMIS

BRITISH MUSEUM

Greek “tyrants” before the Ionian revolt. Possis, an historian of Magnesia cited by Athenæus (xii. p. 533 D), attributes to him the founding at Magnesia of two of the most beloved popular festivals at Athens, namely, the *Panathenaica* and the *Choes*-day of the *Anthesteria*, with solemn sacrifices.

XXXI. 3. Egypt revolted with Athenian aid: “Meanwhile (459 B.C.) Inaros the son of Psammetichus, king of the Libyans who border on Egypt, had induced the greater part of Egypt to revolt from Artaxerxes the King. He began the rebellion at Mareia, a city opposite the island of Pharos, and, having made himself ruler of the country, called in the Athenians. They were just then carrying on war against Cyprus with two hundred ships of their own and of their allies; and, quitting the island, they went to his aid” (*Thucydides*, i. 104, 1, 2).

Cilicia: as early as 468 (probably) Cimon had won a double victory over the Persians, by land and sea, at the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia, the district of southern Asia Minor just west of Cilicia (*Thucydides*, i. 100, 1). In 461 Cimon was ostracized, to be recalled in 457. In 456 a powerful Persian force under Megabyzus defeated the allied Egyptians and Athenians in Egypt, and in 454 the Athenian force there was annihilated. Plutarch has the events of this period (468–456) somewhat vaguely in mind.

Cimon's mastery of the sea: it was most natural that popular tradition should bring into contrast the positions of the old and the new “masters of the sea.” Cf. Plutarch's *Cimon*, xviii. 4–6, where Cimon's expedition to Cyprus in 449, on which he died, is confused with his earlier victories in 468–461. Cimon, it is there said, was eager to attack the King's forces “above all because he learned that the reputation and power of Themistocles were great among the Barbarians, since he had promised the King that when the Hellenic war was set on foot he would take the command. At any rate, it is said that it was most of all due to his despair of his Hellenic undertakings, since he could not

eclipse the good fortune and valor of Cimon, that Themistocles took his own life."

XXXI. 4. Here again Thucydides threads his way cautiously through the masses of conflicting testimony regarding the death of Themistocles. He says: "A sickness put an end to his life, although some say that he poisoned himself because he felt that he could not accomplish what he had promised to the King" (i. 138, 4). Thucydides clearly rejects both promise and suicide.

Drank bull's blood: this was clearly the "current story" as early as 424 B. C., when the *Knights* of Aristophanes was produced. In verses 80-84, two slaves playfully threaten suicide:

(First Slave) "Let 's die, then, once for all; that's the best way,
Only we must contrive to manage it
Nobly and manfully in a proper manner."

(Second Slave) "Aye, aye. Let 's do things manfully! that's
my maxim!"

(First Slave) "Well, there 's the example of Themistocles—
To drink bull's blood: that seems a manly death."

(Second Slave) "Bull's blood! The blood of the grape, I say,
good wine!" (Frere.)

Not much earlier than this, at any rate much later than the death of Themistocles, is the statement by Herodotus (iii. 15) that Psammenitus, a conquered king of Egypt who had been detected by Cambyses in stirring up revolt, "drank bull's blood, and died on the spot." After this time we find numerous allusions in classical writers to the death of Themistocles in this manner, and also curious speculations as to the reason why bull's blood was fatal. It was not fatal, and no satisfactory explanation of the undoubted belief that it was has yet been given. Cicero ridicules the whole story (*Brutus*, 43), and falls back on the simple statement of Thucydides that Themistocles sickened and died a natural death. Nepos also (*Themistocles*, x. 4) accepts this statement, though he notes that Thucydides mentions the rumor that Themistocles took poison.

The following explanation of the growth of the legend may be hazarded. Themistocles was too extraordinary a man to be allowed to die in an ordinary fashion. The mysteriousness of his career in Asia incited the popular fancy to the invention of countless details. As the sense of the great benefits which he had conferred on Greece slowly prevailed over the malice felt in consequence of his supposed treachery, and as hatred toward Sparta, his most venomous persecutor, increased, the invented details became apologetic rather than defamatory, and especially so in the case of rhetorical and romantic writers like Ephorus. According to him (*Diodorus*, xi. 58, 2, 3), Themistocles first bound the Persian King by a solemn oath not to make an expedition against Greece without him, and then, at the sacrifice of a bull to ratify this oath, filled a bowl with blood, drank it off, and died on the spot. So the King desisted from his undertaking, and Themistocles thus proved by his death that he had always had the welfare of his country at heart. In this way Themistocles becomes a martyr for his country, instead of dying in ignoble luxury. It was hard to accept the simple conclusion of Thucydides that the King favored him because he admired his wisdom. The promise to the King was invented to account for the undoubted wealth and power which Themistocles enjoyed at his hands. The promise once believed, and suicide must be the end of a patriotic Themistocles. Suicide once demanded by the popular fancy, and simple poison is not sufficient. Some unusual drug is needed, and some spectacular scene.

This was suggested to the inventive fancy of popular tradition and of romantic writers by the very monument to his memory erected by his grateful subjects in the market-place of Magnesia (c. xxxii. 2, and notes). This monument was a statue of Themistocles, of noble form and heroic character, represented as standing before a blazing altar with a sacrificial bowl, from which he is pouring onto the altar the blood from a slain bull (or bison) which lies dead before him with outstretched head. So much is gathered from a

bronze coin of Magnesia, of the age of Antoninus Pius, by A. Rhousopoulos, in the *Athenische Mittheilungen* for 1896, pp. 18-25. The further conclusion that the monument represented Themistocles in the act of sacrificing before drinking the bull's blood with suicidal intent, as popular tradition made him do, is not warranted. It rather represented the revered governor of the city as sacrificing to Athena or Dionysus when he solemnly founded for his city of Magnesia either the *Panathenaica*, or the *Choes*-day. Such a solemn function is implied by the testimony of Possis (see the note on xxxi. 2), and afforded the bereaved Magnesians a fitting theme for the commemoration of him who had enriched their city with the choicest importations of Athenian festival-rite. The statue, misinterpreted by some one not resident in Magnesia, ignorantly or purposely, it matters not which, gave rise to the absurd and incredible tale of drinking the bull's blood, which soon became the "current story," of Themistocles' death. Aristophanes, in the *Knights*, treats it humorously; Thucydides rejects it utterly.

XXXII. 1. For these family items Plutarch must have had the traditions of the family itself, freely given him by his intimate friend Themistocles (§ 4). It was the best evidence attainable, though, like all family traditions, not exempt from error.

Clephantus: an inscription of Lampsacus (*Athenische Mittheilungen*, VI., 1881, pp. 103 ff.), dating from the close of the third century B. C., proves that Clephantus settled there, and that down even to that late date a festival was celebrated annually in memory of Themistocles, in which all citizens took part, and at which the descendants of Clephantus had certain special rights and privileges. It was no strange custom. The elder Miltiades was so honored (*Herod.*, vi. 38), and Brasidas (*Thucyd.*, v. 11).

Plato mentions, etc.: in the *Meno*, p. 93. The argument is on the question whether virtue can be taught, since, as has been agreed, virtue is knowledge. Socrates points out that the great and good statesmen of Athens, Themisto-



BRONZE OF MAGNESIA, COINAGE OF ANTONINUS PIUS (OBVERSE), WITH STATUE OF THEMISTOCLES (REVERSE).

cles, Aristides, Pericles and Thucydides, son of Melesias did not succeed in making their sons acquire their virtue, though they must have wished to do so. "Did you never hear that Themistocles made Cleophantus, who was his son, a famous horseman? — he would stand upright on horseback and hurl a javelin; and many other marvellous things he could do which his father had him taught; and in anything which the skill of a master could teach him he was well trained. But did any one, old or young, ever say in your hearing that Cleophantus, son of Themistocles, was a wise or good man, as his father was?"

Mnesiptolema: heroine of the dream-tale in *c. xxx.*

XXXII. 2. Tomb of Themistocles: Plutarch uses the word "tomb" carelessly here. It was a monument which the Magnesians erected to Themistocles in their market-place, — his tomb was outside the city. "There is a monument of him in the agora of the Asiatic Magnesia, where he was governor. . . . His family say that his remains were carried home at his own request and buried in Attica, but secretly; for he had been accused of treason and had fled from his country, and he could not lawfully be interred there" (*Thucydides*, i. 138, 5, 6). Diodorus Siculus says (xi. 58, 1): "So then Themistocles, free from fear of the Hellenes, and, strangely enough, exiled by those whom he had most highly benefited, but benefited by those whom he had most grievously injured, spent the rest of his days in these cities which the King had given him, richly supplied with all that could make life pleasant, and at his death he received a memorable burial in Magnesia, and a monument, which is still standing in my day." So Nepos (*Themistocles*, x. 3), more definitely still: "huius ad nostram memoriam monumenta manserunt duo: sepulchrum prope oppidum, in quo est sepultus; statua in foro Magnesiae." The case of Brasidas in *Thucydides*, v. 11, 1, affords a striking parallel. This able Spartan had saved Amphipolis from Athenian attacks at the cost of his own life. "Brasidas was buried in the city with public honors in front of what is now the

Agora. The whole body of the allies in military array followed him to the grave. The Amphipolitans enclosed his sepulchre, and to this day they sacrifice to him as to a hero, and also celebrate games and yearly offerings in his honor."

In all probability Themistocles was in like manner honored as a hero at Magnesia by annual sacrifices and games (see § 4). Even at Lampsacus, which was not so closely bound to him as Magnesia, such a festival was held in his honor (see the note on "Cleopantus," in § 1).

Andocides: see the Introduction, p. 37, and the note on "as Theopompus relates," xix. 1.

Address to his Associates: *i. e.* of the oligarchical clubs, which were secretly plotting for the overthrow of the democracy (see the note on *Aristides*, ii. 4). This work of Andocides is mentioned only here, and is of uncertain date, between the limits 420–410 b. c., but is in any case earlier than the words of Thucydides cited above.

Phylarchus: see the Introduction, p. 44, and the note on "Demaratus," xxix. 3.

A certain Neocles, forsooth: who died when a boy (§ 1), and could not therefore have figured at any maltreatment of his father's remains.

A theatrical machine: for bringing into the scene gods and heroic personages. *Cf. c. x. 1.*

XXXII. 3. Diodorus the Topographer: not to be confounded with Diodorus Siculus. See the Introduction, p. 40.

A sort of elbow . . . opposite Alcimus: this can only mean what was called Eētioneia, or the narrow tongue of land which projected into the sea on the northern shore of the harbor, and toward which the headland called Alcimus projected from the opposite or southern shore, both of them being prolonged by moles. "This Eētioneia is the mole of the Piraeus, and forms one side of the entrance" (*Thucyd.*, viii. 90, 4).

Inasmuch as the remains of Themistocles were either not buried in Attica at all, or buried secretly, various traditions

arose assigning them to various localities. Pausanias, writing not long after Plutarch, in describing the Piræus, says : " And there were ship-sheds there down to my time ; and beside the largest harbor is the grave of Themistocles. For they say that the Athenians repented of what they had done to Themistocles, and that his kinsmen took up his bones and brought them from Magnesia. Certain it is that the sons of Themistocles not only returned from exile, but dedicated in the Parthenon a picture containing a portrait of Themistocles " (i. 1, 2). With this may be joined another statement of Pausanias (i. 26, 4) : " Near the statue of Olympiodorus " (on the Acropolis) " stands a bronze image of Artemis surnamed Leucophryenian. It was dedicated by the sons of Themistocles ; for the Magnesians, whom the King gave to Themistocles to govern, hold Leucophryenian Artemis in honor." Add also his statement (i. 18, 3) that statues of Miltiades and Themistocles stood in the Prytaneum of Athens.

The sons of Themistocles, then, would seem to have been restored to their Athenian privileges, but there is no good reason to suppose that the bones of their father were ever brought home, although belief in his treason died out.

Nevertheless, tradition fixed upon still another spot as his Attic tomb, namely, " on the shore of the Acte peninsula " (from which Alcimus juts out), " near the modern lighthouse, some way to the south of the entrance to the great harbor. A square space, measuring about nineteen feet on the sides, has been levelled in the rock ; and its outer margin has been cut and smoothed to a breadth of two and one half feet, apparently to form the bed of a wall. Within this square space are three graves, a large one and two small ones ; and just outside it, on the side away from the sea, is a large sepulchre hewn in the rock " (Frazer, on *Pausanias*, i. 1, 2). The identification of this place with that described by Diodorus the Topographer, however, is, in spite of the authority of Milchhöfer, improbable. Diodorus evidently describes a monument inside the harbor.

The modern name for the harbor of Piræus in 1835, when Athens was made capital of the modern kingdom, was *Porto Leone*, from a colossal lion of white marble which the Venetians carried away from Alcimus in 1687, and which now stands in front of the Arsenal in Venice. The promontory of Alcimus is thought to have been named from this lion.

The comic poet Plato: one of the prominent poets of the Old Athenian Comedy, who flourished from 428 to 389 B. C. See the Introduction, p. 35. It cannot be known with what justice Diodorus assumes that these verses of Plato refer to the tomb of Themistocles. Plutarch is careful to call this identification of the “altar-like structure” inside the harbor with the tomb of Themistocles a mere conjecture.

Racing ships: “Boat-races seem to have been not uncommon in antiquity. They were held at Sunium; and Attic inscriptions show that boat-races formed part of the regular training of the Athenian lads; they raced in sacred vessels round the peninsula of Piræus to the harbor of Munychia” (Frazer, on *Pausanias*, ii. 35, 1).

In the school of Ammonius: *i. e.* the Academy, of which Ammonius was the head. He is known to us only through the writings of his pupil, Plutarch, and is “the oldest known representative of that religious and mystical phase of Platonism which became prevalent in the second century A. D.” In many of the dialogues of Plutarch, Ammonius is made the writer’s spokesman.

NOTES ON THE *ARISTIDES*

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I. 1. **Tribe, deme:** see the note on "A Phrearrhian by deme," *Themistocles*, i. 1.

Demetrius of Phalerum: see the Introduction, p. 58. Phalerum is here the deme, and not the harbor of that name.

I. 2. **Archon Eponymous:** the college of nine archons, elected annually, consisted of (a) the Archon *Eponymous*, by whose name the year was called, and who served as minister of justice; (b) the Archon *Basileus*, or King Archon, who served as minister of religion; (c) the Archon *Polemarch*, once minister of war and commander-in-chief, but largely superseded early in the fifth century by the ten Generals; and (d) the six Archons *Thesmothetæ*, or legislators,—keepers of the codes of law. The archons were originally nominated by the Council of the Areiopagus; then they were elected by the general assembly of the people; under Solon (594 b. c.), they were appointed by lot from forty candidates selected by the four tribes; under Cleisthenes (508 b. c.), and down to 487 b. c., they were elected by the general assembly of the people again; from 487 b. c., they were appointed by lot again, from one hundred or five hundred candidates selected by the ten tribes. See Sandys on Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, xxii. 5. If, then, Aristides was archon in 489 b. c., he was chosen by open voting, without any application of the lot. *An* Aristides was archon in 489 b. c. (see v. 5), but it is not absolutely certain that this was the son of Lysimachus. Even if it was, it is not likely that open voting would have put any one into this highest office who did not belong to the first of Solon's political classes. This need not imply great wealth, but it shuts out extreme poverty, which it is

the object of romantic tradition to fix upon Aristides, that he may contrast the more effectively with Themistocles, whose wealth was for the same reason exaggerated. See the note on *Themistocles*, xxv. 3.

Five-hundred-bushelers: *i. e.* those whose annual income from their land-holdings was equivalent to five hundred “*medimni*” of grain, or five hundred drachmas of silver, not more than \$500, counting the drachma as equivalent to the French franc, and the purchasing power of money five times what it is now.

The other three classes which Solon used as the basis for political distinctions were: the *Knights*, with an annual income from their land worth at least three hundred “*medimni*;” the *Zeugitæ*, with two hundred; and the *Thetes*, who owned no land at all. The first class alone were eligible (under the Solonian constitution) to the chief offices, the second and third to minor offices, the fourth to none at all. Some time between Cleisthenes (508 b. c.) and 457–6 b. c., the second class of land-holders became eligible for the archonship, and in the latter year the third class (Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, xxvi. 2). It is probable that wealthy or influential “*Thetes*” also, even earlier than this, were allowed to be chosen to the office.

Ostracism: see the notes on *Themistocles*, v. 5 and xxii. 2.

Offerings for victory in choral contests: see the note on *Themistocles*, v. 4. The *choregus* of a victorious chorus was privileged to erect in the precinct of Dionysus the bronze tripod which he won as his prize. The tripod, in later and more luxurious times, was usually set up on a column or miniature temple, and on this latter, not on the tripod itself, the inscription was brought. The “Street of the Tripods” at Athens led from the prytaneum up to the entrance of the theatre, and was lined with these monuments. See Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, pp. 241–253, where the extant “choragic monument of

Lysicrates," *i. e.* the shrine which once supported the tripod, is fully described. See also Frazer's notes on *Pausanias*, i. 20.

I. 3. This argument . . . is weak: Plutarch argues that Aristides might have received the money necessary to equip his victorious chorus from some friend, as Epaminondas and Plato did. He is bent on having Aristides poor, in accordance with the popular tradition which Demetrius successfully combats.

Epaminondas: the founder of the Theban supremacy, by his victory over Sparta at Leuctra in 371 B.C., whom Cicero called "princeps Græciae." The attitude of cultured Roman society toward Epaminondas may be seen from the fact that Hadrian erected a *stelé* at his grave and composed an inscription for it (*Pausanias*, viii. 11, 8). See the note on *Themistocles*, i. 1, at the beginning.

Men trained to play the flute: the national art of the Bœotians, but not much affected by the Athenians, for "Athene flung away the flute, while Apollo flayed alive the flute-player." See Roberts, *Ancient Bœotians*, pp. 32-35.

Boys trained to sing and dance: *i. e.* in the "dithyramb," the lyric style especially cultivated at Athens, the Dionysiac hymn out of which the drama was evolved.

Dion of Syracuse: *ob.* 353 B.C., after having become master of the city over which his father-in-law, Dionysius I., and his nephew, Dionysius II., had been tyrants. He was visited by, and visited Plato, whom he ardently admired. Plutarch probably wrote his *Dion and Brutus* shortly after his *Aristides and Cato*. See the Introduction, p. 9.

Pelopidas: of Thebes, commander of the "Sacred Band," colleague and bosom friend of Epaminondas, whose hereditary poverty he tried to aid with his own inherited wealth. See Plutarch's *Pelopidas*, which was written between the *Themistocles* and the *Aristides*.

I. 4. Panætius: see the Introduction, p. 59.

The son of Xenophilus: the epigram celebrating this victory, won in 477 B.C., when Adeimantus was archon,

and Simonides was poet, in his eighteenth year, is preserved (Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Græci*, iii. p. 496).

The inscription itself: the one cited above in § 2.

The character used after Eucleides: in the archonship of Eucleides (403), a new alphabet was officially introduced at Athens, "that with which we are most familiar, the alphabet first adopted by the Ionians of Asia Minor. It was ordained that in future all public acts should be written in the Ionic characters, which indeed had been in literary and private use in Attica, and also in public use elsewhere, for some time previously" (Roberts, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, p. 1).

I. 5. This argument of Panætius: it is sound and convincing, and successfully disposes of the third point in Demetrius' argument against the poverty of Aristides, though Plutarch withholds his opinion upon it. It favors, too, Plutarch's side of the question. The other two points in the argument of Demetrius are not affected.

Damon, the teacher of Pericles: in his *Pericles* (c. iv. 2), Plutarch had already spoken of Damon as one who made his profession of "music" a cover for political intrigues with Pericles. "He was banished the country by ostracism for ten years, as a dangerous intermeddler and a favorer of arbitrary power." Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* (c. xxvii. 4) speaks of a Damonides who had the credit of originating most of the innovations of Pericles (as Plutarch also says, *Pericles*, ix. 2), and who was ostracized on that account. It has been suggested that Plutarch confounds Damon the musician and Damonides the politician, and transfers to the former some of the attributes of the latter. See Sandys, on Aristotle, *ad loc.* Of Damon the musician Plato often speaks with the greatest respect. It is at any rate certain that Plutarch misrepresents here the institution of ostracism (see the note on *Themistocles*, xxii. 2), though his argument is sound that ostracism need not imply that the banished man was wealthy.

Idomeneus: see the Introduction, p. 42.

By election: the practice in 489-8 B.C., the year after the battle of Plataea. See above on § 2. It is barely possible, though not probable, that the property-qualifications of the Solonian census were not in force when the election was thus free, and therefore that Aristides, even though Archon *Eponymous*, was not a "Five-hundred-busheler." At any rate, that is the inference of Plutarch, who must have Aristides as poor as he was just.

But also Socrates: the context makes it clear how Demetrius, in his "Socrates," came to speak of the poverty of Aristides.

Seventy minæ: the *mina* was one hundred drachmas, and sixty *minæ* made a talent. A sum of about \$1400, or £280, is here meant. According to Xenophon, the pupil of Socrates (*Economicus*, ii. 3), Socrates had a property of only five *minæ*, including his house. "If I could find a good purchaser" (Socrates replies), "I suppose the whole of my effects, including the house in which I live, might very fairly realize five *minæ*." Plato, another pupil, makes Socrates say, when called upon to fix a counter-penalty to that of death (*Apology*, p. 38 A): "Had I money I might have estimated the offence at what I was able to pay, and have been none the worse. But you see that I have none, and I can only ask you to proportion the fine to my means. However, I think that I could afford a *mina*, and therefore I propose that penalty: Plato, Crito, Critobulus, and Apollodorus, my friends here, bid me say thirty *minæ*, and they will be the sureties. Well, then, say thirty *minæ*, let that be the penalty; and for that sum they will be ample security to you."

II. 1. Cleisthenes: see the note on "A Phrearrhian by deme," *Themistocles*, i. 1. Such a friendship with Cleisthenes would not argue aristocratic leanings in Aristides, rather the contrary. In fact, Aristides was simply less democratic than Themistocles, or better, democratic in a different way. The constant contrast of his character to that of Themistocles has led to this mistaken contrast in political principles. The

contrast was in method, not in principle. See Holm, *History of Greece*, ii. pp. 37 f., and Botsford, *History of Greece*, pp. 124 f.

Lycurgus: the mythical author of the Spartan laws and institutions. Of a real Lycurgus we know next to nothing. "There is so much uncertainty in the accounts which historians have left us of Lycurgus, the lawgiver of Sparta, that scarcely anything is asserted by one of them which is not called into question or contradicted by the rest" (Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, i.). Plutarch's *Lycurgus* also was composed between his *Themistocles* and *Aristides*.

II. 2. Compare *Themistocles*, iii. 1, 2.

II. 4. **A society of political friends:** a political club, like that to which Andocides issued his "Address" (*Themistocles*, xxxii. 2). These political clubs were usually aristocratic in their sympathies, and played a prominent part in the oligarchical revolution of 411 B. C. They seem not to have been prominent at Athens till after the death of Pericles (428 B. C.). "Party associations," says Thucydides (iii. 82, 6) of such clubs, "are not based upon any established law, nor do they seek the public good; they are formed in defiance of the laws and from self-interest."

"Never may I sit on a tribunal," etc.: a story which proves a disposition exactly opposite to that denoted by the stories of his impartiality in *Themistocles*, v. 4. Here an effective contrast to Aristides is desired.

III. 1. **A reckless agitator:** far different from the tone of *Themistocles*, iii., where Themistocles is the subject of biography. And to have Aristides oppose Themistocles "even against his real convictions" of what was good for the state, merely to thwart a political foe, is dubious praise.

Even against his real convictions: the phrase is added after the best manuscript, though not in the Sintenis (Teubner) or Bekker (Tauchnitz) texts. It strengthens, but does not alter the line of thought.

III. 2. **The barathrum:** a cleft in the rocks in the "ward" Ceiriadae, just west of Melité (see the note on *Themistocles*,

xxii. 1), into which the bodies of criminals and suicides were cast.

III. 3. **As the story goes:** a story it is, and a late one, at least later than the time (467 B. C.) when the play was given, and Aristides might possibly have heard it. The play was the "Seven against Thebes," and the messenger is describing to Eteocles, king of Thebes, the only righteous warrior among the seven champions attacking the city (verses 592 ff.). The story, however, has substituted "just" for the "best" of Æschylus (*δίκαιος* for *ἀριστος*). The epithet of "The Just" was not fixed on Aristides during his lifetime. Elsewhere (*Morals*, p. 32 D = *Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat*, xi.), where the context demands it, Plutarch cites these verses correctly. A good story mocks at manuscript readings.

IV. 1. **A story is told:** the story, and the three which follow it as well, are of late manufacture, and are now found only here. Plutarch probably found them in Idomeneus.

As private arbitrator: Themistocles also, it will be remembered, was famous and popular as a private arbitrator (*Themistocles*, v. 4).

IV. 2. **Overseer of the public revenues:** there was no such office in the fifth century B. C., nor in the fourth until about 338, when a "minister of finance" was created to have general supervision of the public income and expenditure. See Gardner and Jevons, *Greek Antiquities*, p. 475.

His fellow-officials: here the story-teller is probably thinking of the various boards which dealt with the public finances in the time of Aristides (Gardner and Jevons, *ibid.*, p. 474).

"The man was clever," etc.: this iambic trimeter is of unknown origin. It probably described a man who lost control of himself in fighting.

The auditing of his accounts: "Every magistrate, within a certain period from the end of his term of office, had to hand in to the *logistæ* either an account of all money received and paid by him, or a statement that he had received no money" (Gardner and Jevons, *ibid.*, p. 466).

According to Idomeneus: see the Introduction, p. 42. It is apparently the startling character of the testimony that leads to the mention of the authority by name.

IV. 4. My present honor . . . former condemnation: the point of the whole story lies in the assumption that the office was an annual one, and that the official could be re-elected. Even when such an office was created, at the close of the fourth century B. C., it was for a period of four years, and the official was not eligible for re-election.

V. This chapter rapidly summarizes what may be found at great length in the standard story of Marathon by Herodotus (vi. 94-120). But there are startling divergencies from Herodotus. His long and graphic story makes no mention either of Aristides or Themistocles. It is clear that when he wrote (*circa* 430 B. C.), popular tradition had not yet singled out either one of them, from the Athenians who took the field, for individual mention. Herodotus mentions by name only two of the ten generals, Miltiades and Stesilaius; the polemarch Callimachus; Cynegeirus son of Eu-phorion, who, "having seized on a vessel of the enemy's by the ornament at the stern, had his hand cut off by the blow of an axe, and so perished;" and Epizelus, son of Couphagoras, who was smitten with blindness during the battle.

But after Themistocles and Aristides had won fame at Salamis, popular tradition or rhetorical historians or story-makers insisted on supplying details of their participation in the battle of Marathon also. Both may have been there; Aristides, who was perhaps the older man, probably was there; and there is nothing absolutely improbable in having him one of the ten generals, though there is no authority for it except this passage. Nepos, who used Ephorus freely (see the Introduction, p. 20), has no Marathonian details in his *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, and we may infer, therefore, that these details were later than Ephorus. We find them, at any rate, only in Plutarch.

It is, however, exceedingly improbable that Aristides

played the rôle ascribed by Herodotus to Callimachus the polemarch in inducing the other generals to unite in voting to give battle, as Miltiades and four of his fellow generals desired; or that he was mainly instrumental in getting the sole conduct of the battle into the hands of Miltiades. Whether it was Plutarch, or the authority whom he is here following who thus glorifies Aristides at the expense of his fellow generals and of Callimachus, can never be determined, and is of little moment. Plutarch becomes sponsor for the perversion of history.

V. 1. **The ten generals:** one from each of the ten tribes, and each commanding his own tribe.

Miltiades: the hero of Marathon, as Themistocles of Salamis. He was a man who already had much experience in war and government. His story is told in *Herodotus*, vi. 34-41, 103, 104, 132-7.

V. 2. **The Athenian centre was the hardest pressed:** it is clear from the Herodotean account of the battle that the Athenian centre, over against the Persians and the Sacæ, was broken and put to flight. Here "the Barbarians were victorious, and broke and pursued the Greeks into the inner country; but on the two wings the Athenians and the Platæans defeated the enemy. Having so done, they suffered the routed Barbarians to fly at their ease, and joining the two wings in one, fell upon those who had broken their own centre and fought and conquered them. These likewise fled, and now the Athenians hung upon the runaways and cut them down, chasing them all the way to the shore, on reaching which they laid hold of the ships and called aloud for fire" (vi. 113). Whether this was planned by Miltiades, or unforeseen, is disputed. It looks like a masterly stratagem. But, stratagem or accident, it finds no place in Plutarch's story, which is bent only on bringing Themistocles and Aristides side by side in the battle.

The tribes Leontis and Antiochis: the official order of the ten tribes, originally determined by certain religious connections of their heroic founders with the successive tenths

of the year, was as given in the note on *Themistocles*, i. 1. According to this order, as Herodotus says (vi. 113), the tribes were drawn up in order of battle at Marathon. The tribe Antiochis was therefore far away from Leontis. But the story is a good one.

The Athenians who fell in the battle were buried in a grave in the plain, "and over it," says Pausanias (i. 32, 3), "are tombstones with the names of the fallen arranged according to tribes." Men of the same tribe fought, fell, and were buried together. "On a similar principle in our own country and time the system has been adopted of recruiting the line regiments from special districts and naming them after these districts, instead of recruiting them indifferently from all districts and designating them by numbers," (Frazer, on *Pausanias, ad loc.*).

Under compulsion of wind and wave: according to Herodotus (c. 115), the Barbarians "pushed off, and taking aboard their Eretrian prisoners from the island where they had left them, doubled Cape Sunium, hoping to reach Athens before the return of the Athenians."

With nine tribes: "But the Athenians with all possible speed marched away to the defence of their city" (*Herod.*, c. 116), with no suggestion of a detachment left behind, or of any booty for it to guard. Probably the impressions of the booty won at Plataea (479 B.C.), eleven years later, tended to cause a demand, in later tradition, for booty at the much more meagre victory of Marathon.

V. 4. Callias the Torch-bearer: one of the highest officers at the celebration of the mysteries of the Eleusinian Demeter. The office was hereditary in the family of Callias, as well as great wealth. This Callias was the son of Phaenippus and father of the Hippoönus mentioned by Herodotus as a wealthy tyrant-hater (vi. 121, 122). His grandson Callias, a step-son of Pericles, was one of the richest and best-known men of Athens. He was so rich that the comic poets called him "Pit-wealthy," *i. e.* rich enough to fill a pit or cistern with money. The epithet may also have played on the fact that

the owner of it worked the silver pits or mines successfully. From this comic epithet the story told in this paragraph arose. It is not found earlier than Plutarch. In the version of the story given in the lexicon of Suidas (after 1000 B.C.) Salamis takes the place of Marathon. Plutarch's story may come from *Æschines* the Socratic's dialogue *Callias*, which is used in xxv. 4-6.

V. 5. **The office of Archon Eponymous**: see the note on i. 2.

After the battle of Platæa: for the year 479-8 B.C.

The official records: the official lists of Archons. These were accessible to Plutarch in some one or all of the *Attic*-writers whom he used. See the Introduction, pp. 41 f., 61.

VI. This chapter Plutarch takes from no one. It is clearly one of his own original contributions to the biography, and quite in the vein of the "Morals."

VI. 1. **A man of the people**: this can only be true of his democratic leanings, for he was of a noble family, and in league with nobles as against the *parvenu* Themistocles. See the note on ii. 1. The tendency of tradition has undoubtedly been to emphasize unduly not only his poverty, but also his lowly birth.

"The Just": we do not find this formal epithet given to Aristides until the latter half of the next century (the orations of *Æschines*); but Herodotus lauds his justice as he introduces him into his story (viii. 79): "He was an Athenian, and had been ostracized by the people, and I judge, from what I learn of him, that he was the best and justest man in Athens." The contemporary praise of Timocreon of Rhodes (Plutarch's *Themistocles*, xxi. 2) calls him simply the best man of Athens. Thucydides mentions him only twice; once as abetting Themistocles in his great stratagem to deceive Sparta concerning the fortifying of Athens (i. 91, 3), and once as a man "in whose time" the tribute to be paid by the cities of the Delian league was fixed: "the said cities shall be independent, but shall pay the tribute which was fixed in the time of Aristides" (v. 18, 5). Plato (*Gorgias*,

p. 526 A) makes Socrates say that although "the very bad men come from the class of those who have power," still, "in that very class there may arise good men, and worthy of all admiration they are, for where there is great power to do wrong, to live and to die justly is a hard thing, and greatly to be praised, and few there are who attain to this. Such good and true men, however, there have been, and will be again, at Athens and in other states, who have performed the work committed to them justly; and there is one who is quite famous all over Hellas, Aristides, the son of Lysimachus." But from other passages in Plato (see, for instance, the citation in the note on *Themistocles*, xxxii. 1) it is clear that he made little if any distinction between Aristides and Themistocles.

"Besiegers": Demetrius *Poliorcetes*, son of Antigonus the "One-eyed," *ob.* 283 B. C. He won his epithet by his siege of Rhodes in 305-4 B. C.

"Thunderbolts": Ptolemy *Ceraunus*, the monster son of Ptolemy I. of Egypt, king of Macedonia after Demetrius *Poliorcetes*, and murderer of the aged Seleucus I., his friend and patron. He was slain by the Gauls in 280 B. C.

"Conquerors": Seleucus *Nicator*, founder of the kingdom of Syria, murdered by Ptolemy *Ceraunus* in 280 B. C. He was himself one of the murderers of Perdiccas, the "Regent" of Alexander, in 321 B. C.

"Eagles": Pyrrhus *Aëtos*, king of Epirus, *ob.* 272 B. C., after fruitless attempts to conquer the West, as his cousin Alexander had conquered the East.

"Hawks": Antiochus *Hierax*, younger brother of Seleucus II. of Syria, on whom he waged rapacious war for the possession of Asia Minor. But he was driven off into Egypt by Attalus I. of Pergamum, and was there ignominiously slain in 227 B. C.

Plutarch is evidently fresh from reading about the "Diadochi" and "Epigoni," the successors and followers of Alexander. He has already used much of the material thus gained in his *Aratus*, and *Philopæmen*.

VI. 2, 3. A choice specimen of the phraseology of the Epicurean school of philosophy.

VI. 2. **Fundamental justice**: *i. e.* essential virtue.

Except through the exercise of reasoning powers: the text is here uncertain. The Sintenis (Teubner) and Bekker (Tauchnitz) texts include $\tau\ddot{o}\ \theta\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma$, which Blass would omit. Retaining these words, the translation would be: "the exercise of intelligent reasoning about the deity." The Dryden-Clough version has: "except by means of reason and the knowledge of that which is divine." Earlier translations pervert and obscure the argument, as North's: "but as for justice and equity, no man is partaker of them, save onely God, by meanes of reason and understandinge"; which follows Amyot's "mais de justice, droitture & equité, il n'y a rien qui en puisse estre participant, sinon ce qui est divin, par le moyen de la raison & de l'entendement."

VII. 1. **The armed body-guard**: the phrase reminds one of the usurpation of Pisistratus, as Herodotus tells his story (i. 59).

VII. 2. **The name of fear of tyranny**: Plutarch constantly ignores the political significance of the ostracism. See the note on *Themistocles*, xxii. 2.

VII. 3. **Hyperbolus**: assassinated by the Samian oligarchs in 411 B.C. "There was a certain Hyperbolus, an Athenian of no character, who, not for any fear of his power and influence, but for his villainy, and because the city was ashamed of him, had been ostracized. This man was assassinated by them" (*Thucydides*, viii. 73, 3.). The ostracism occurred about six years before the assassination, and is described again by Plutarch in his *Nicias*, xi., and *Alcibiades*, xiii. Both these *Lives* were written after the *Aristides*.

Alcibiades, Nicias: these two men, representing respectively Young and Old Athens in their attitudes toward the fatal Sicilian expedition, are vividly portrayed for us in *Thucydides*, vi. 8-26. "To tell the simple truth," says Plutarch (*Nicias*, xi. 3), "it was a struggle between the young men who wanted war, and the older men who wanted

peace; one party proposed to ostracize Nicias, the other Alcibiades."

VII. 4. **Ostrakon**: several such potsherds, with names inscribed upon them, have been found. One is represented at p. 104. It was used either at the ostracism of Aristides, of which Plutarch is now speaking, or at that of Themistocles himself, in 472-1 b. c. See the note on *Themistocles*, xxii. 2. Other specimens carry the names of Megacles, ostracized in 487-6, and of Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, ostracized in 485-4. See Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, c. xxii., and Sandys' notes *ad loc.*

VII. 5. **At the time of which I was speaking**: 483-2 b. c. See the note on *Themistocles*, v. 5.

It is said: the story, one of the best that Plutarch tells, is found also in Nepos, *Aristides*, i. 3: "Cui ille respondit se ignorare Aristiden, sed sibi non placere quod tam cupide elaborasset ut præter ceteros Iustus appellaretur."

VII. 6. **The opposite of that which Achilles made**: when he besought his mother to "ascend to heaven and bring her prayer to Jove" in behalf of her outraged son (*Iliad*, i. 407-412):

"Remind him of all this, and, sitting down,
Embrace his knees, and pray him to befriend
The Trojans, that the Greeks, hemmed in and slain
Beside their ships and by the shore, may learn
To glory in their king, and even he,
Wide-ruling Agamemnon, may perceive
How grievous was his folly when he dared
To treat with scorn the bravest of the Greeks." (Bryant.)

As it seems: *i. e.* as the Homeric poem has it.

VIII. Between this and the preceding chapters come chronologically the events narrated in *Themistocles*, vi.-x. The narrative in the *Themistocles*, xi., should now be closely compared.

VIII. 1. **In the third year thereafter**: the spring of 480 b. c. See the note on *Themistocles*, xi. 1, where The-

mistocles is made the author of the bill for the recall of Aristides.

General with sole powers: see the note on *Themistocles*, vi. 1.

VIII. 2. Compare *Themistocles*, xii., and the notes thereon.

VIII. 3, 4. A rhetorical embellishment of the details given in *Themistocles*, xii. 3. Plutarch undoubtedly referred to his own work in the earlier biography, but he goes back also to the Herodotean story (viii. 79, 80) for the rhetoric.

VIII. 4. **Inasmuch as he had the greater influence:** "For if I speak to them," says Themistocles in *Herodotus*, viii. 80, "they will think it a feigned tale, and will not believe that the Barbarians have inclosed us around."

VIII. 5. **The council of generals:** this item of the council, too, is Herodotean. It is from the council that Aristides calls Themistocles forth, according to Herodotus, and to the council that Aristides breaks his news. For the sake of the story to be told in this paragraph, Plutarch adopts the council-feature, though in his previous narrative, both here and in the *Themistocles*, he does not use it, but has Themistocles summoned from his tent. In *Herodotus*, too (see the citation in the note on *Themistocles*, xii. 3), Aristides leaves the council as soon as he has told his tidings.

There is another feature of the story which shows that it is lugged in here from some more appropriate context, or perhaps changed to fit this context. Cleocritus is the Corinthian general at Plataea (c. xx. 2), but Adeimantus at Salamis (*Herod.*, viii. 59, 61).

IX. 1. **While the captains were acting on this plan:** Plutarch transfers the exploit of Psyttaleia from a point following the naval battle, where Æschylus and Herodotus put it, to a point just preceding the battle. He does this to introduce more plausibly the incredible story of § 2. See the note on *Themistocles*, xiii. 2. No mention of Psyttaleia is made in the *Themistocles*. The *Persians* of Æschylus, whose political purpose it was to enhance the services at Salamis

of Aristides, the political rival of Themistocles, makes it very prominent. After the messenger has told Queen Atossa of the destruction of the Persian ships with their crews, he checks her cries of sorrow with the assurance that the half has not been told (433-464):—

“ Those Persians that were in the bloom of life,
 Bravest of heart and noblest in their blood,
 And by the King himself deemed worthiest trust,
 Basely and by most shameful death have died.”

(Atossa) “ Ah ! woe is me, my friends, for our ill fate !
 What was the death by which thou say’st they died ? ”

(Messenger) “ There is an isle that lies off Salamis,
 Small, with bad anchorage for ships, where Pan,
 Pan the dance-loving, haunts the sea-washed coast.
 There Xerxes sends those men, that when their foes,
 Being wrecked, should to the island safely swim,
 They might with ease destroy th’ Hellenic host,
 And save their friends from out the deep sea’s paths ;
 But ill the future guessing : for when God
 Gave the Hellenes the glory of the battle,
 In that same hour, with arms well wrought in bronze,
 Shielding their bodies, from their ships they leaped,
 And the whole isle encircled, so that we
 Were sore distressed, and knew not where to turn ;
 For here men’s hands hurled many a stone at them ;
 And there the arrows from the archer’s bow
 Smote and destroyed them ; and with one great rush,
 At last advancing, they upon them dash
 And smite, and hew the limbs of these poor wretches,
 Till they their foes had utterly destroyed.” (Plumptre.)

Herodotus, after finishing his account of the sea-fight, says (viii. 95) : “ In the midst of the confusion Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, the Athenian, of whom I lately spoke as a man of the greatest excellence, performed the following service. He took a number of the Athenian heavy-armed troops, who had previously been stationed along the shore of Salamis, and landing with them on the islet of Psyttaleia,

slew all the Persians by whom it was occupied." And following his account of the famous message of Themistocles to Xerxes, he says (viii. 76): "Then the captains, believing all that the messenger had said, proceeded to land a large body of Persian troops on the islet of Psyttaleia, which lies between Salamis and the mainland. . . . The Persian troops were landed on the islet of Psyttaleia, because, as soon as the battle began, the men and wrecks were likely to be drifted thither, as the isle lay in the very path of the coming fight, — and they would thus be able to save their own men and destroy those of the enemy."

IX. 2. Compare *Themistocles*, xiii. 2, and notes thereon.

A trophy: no other mention is made of this special trophy for that part of the struggle which took place on Psyttaleia. A trophy for the entire victory was erected on Salamis (see the coins, *cc*, opposite p. 254). "In Salamis there is a sanctuary of Artemis and a trophy of the victory which Themistocles son of Neocles was instrumental in winning for the Greeks. . . . In front of Salamis is an island named Psyttaleia. They say that about four hundred Barbarians landed on it, and that, when the fleet of Xerxes was worsted, the Greeks crossed over and put them to the sword. The island contains no really artistic image, only some rude wooden idols of Pan" (*Pausanias*, i. 36, 1). The number of the Persians who perished on Psyttaleia is given by Pausanias alone. Had there been a trophy there he would certainly have mentioned it, for he says (iv. 36, 6): "every one has heard of Psyttaleia at Salamis, because of the Medes who perished there."

IX. 3. Compare *Themistocles*, xvi., with the notes thereon.

Sent once more the eunuch Arnaces: so Plutarch, forgetting, apparently, that he had made Sicinnus, a Persian captive, the messenger in the first stratagem (*Themist.*, xii. 2.) Herodotus has Sicinnus (the second time in company with other trustworthy men) the messenger for both stratagems (viii. 75, 110), and this probably led Plutarch here to have the same messenger for both, — but not the right one.

X. 1-3. The matter of these paragraphs is largely drawn from or suggested by the narrative of Herodotus in viii. 97-144 (compare Ephorus in *Diodorus Sic.* xi. 28), but there are interesting deviations from Herodotus, which will be pointed out in the notes. It is uncertain whether the condensation and adaptation of Herodotus is due to Plutarch or to his sources or to both. The last sentence of the chapter shows that at least §§ 4 and 5 are from Idomeneus. The omission of all mention of the unenviable rôle given by Herodotus to the Macedonian Alexander, betokens Macedonian sympathy or partisanship. Athens and Sparta differed radically in their policies; the first favoring a combined land attack on Mardonius in Bœotia, the second a defence against him at the Isthmus, abandoning Athens, as before Salamis. Athens played with the possibility of a Persian alliance, in order to win Sparta over to her line of defence. Mardonius took advantage of this conflict of policy to bid for Athenian support, using Alexander as emissary.

X. 1. **Hurried straight to the Hellespont:** here the condensation is great. According to Herodotus, the order of events is as follows: Xerxes feigns a continuance of hostilities, but plans retreat (*c.* 97); is advised by Mardonius to relinquish naval attempts, but to leave a land force for the conquest of Greece (*c.* 100); accepts the advice (*cc.* 101-107), and at the close of the first day after Salamis, sends his fleet from Phalerum to the Hellespont. On the next day the Greek fleet pursues the retreating Persian ships as far as Andros, where a council of war is held, further pursuit abandoned, and the second message of Themistocles to the King is sent, in order to hasten the retirement of the Persian land forces from Attica (*cc.* 108-110). Xerxes and his army wait a few days after the sea-fight, and then retire into Bœotia, and Thessaly. Here Mardonius picks out his forces for the next campaign (*c.* 113), and then Xerxes leaves him and marches to the Hellespont in five-and-forty days (*c.* 115). See the note on *Themistocles*, xvi. 1.

Wrote threateningly to the Hellenes: according to Herodotus, Mardonius, who had his winter quarters in Macedonia and Thessaly (cc. 126, 129, 131, 133), sent Alexander, the son of Amyntas, a Macedonian whose sister had married a prominent Persian and who was himself a *proxenos* or consul of Athens, as envoy to the Athenians, offering to rebuild their city and give them whatever territory they wanted if only they would make peace and alliance with Persia (cc. 136–140). The Spartans also sent envoys to Athens (Plutarch's next paragraph) to plead with the Athenians against the propositions of Alexander (c. 141). “We feel,” the Spartan envoys said, “for the heavy calamities which press on you, — the loss of your harvest for these two years, and the ruin in which your homes have lain for so long a time. We offer you therefore, on the part of the Lacedæmonians and the allies, sustenance for your women and for the unwarlike portion of your households, as long as the war endures” (c. 142). The ideas and spirit of Plutarch's letter “to the Hellenes” are taken from the advice to Xerxes which Herodotus puts into the mouth of Mardonius at viii. 100: “Do not grieve, master, or take so greatly to heart thy late loss. Our hopes hang not altogether on the fate of a few timbers, but on our brave steeds and horsemen. These fellows, whom thou imaginest to have quite conquered us, will not venture — no, not one of them — to come ashore and contend with our land army, nor will the Greeks who are upon the main-land fight our troops; such as did so have received their punishment.”

X. 2. On motion of Aristides: there is no suggestion in *Herodotus* that Aristides was either the author or the spokesman of the reply of the Athenians. This is a case of the individualization of general procedure exactly like that in *Themistocles*, xi. 1, where Themistocles is made the author of the bill restoring Aristides from exile.

They answered: in *Herodotus*, the Athenians answer Alexander first (c. 143), and then the Spartan envoys (c. 144). Plutarch imagines a preliminary motion passed in the Athenian assembly by Aristides, and read after the

introduction of the two embassies, with additional rhetoric by Aristides addressed to both embassies. The substance of the preliminary motion is free adaptation of the language of Herodotus; the additional rhetoric is borrowed outright.

They were indignant at the Lacedæmonians: “ ‘T was natural, no doubt, that the Lacedæmonians should be afraid we might make terms with the Barbarian; but nevertheless ‘t was a base fear in men who knew so well of what temper and spirit we are’ (*Herod.*, c. 144).

Merely to win their rations: “ We thank you for your forethought on our behalf, and for your wish to give our families sustenance, now that ruin has fallen on us,— the kindness is complete on your part! but for ourselves, we will endure as we may, and not be burdensome to you” (*Herod.*, *ibid.*). The Athenians were bidding for, and obtained the promise from Sparta to join them in defending Attica.

X. 3. Tell their people: in addition to the contents of the formal motion which had been read.

Gold above or below ground: “ Not all the gold that the whole earth contains, not the fairest and most fertile of all lands, would bribe us to take part with the Medes and help them to enslave our countrymen” (*Herod.*, c. 144; *Diod. Sic.*, xi. 28, 2).

As long as yonder sun, etc.: “ Return at once and tell Mardonius that our answer to him is this: ‘So long as the sun keeps his present course, we will never join alliance with Xerxes’” (*Herod.*, c. 143).

Temples defiled and consumed with fire: these heighten the eloquence of both replies in *Herodotus*.

X. 4, 5. The general tone, at least, of this version of events described in *Herodotus*, ix. 1–11, is due to Idomeneus, who is cited by name at the end. It will be interesting to compare the Herodotean story. When Alexander of Macedon brought back to Mardonius the answer of the Athenians, the Persian “led his army with all speed against Athens,”

assisted by Thessalians and Bœotians (*cc. 1, 2*; *Diod. Sic.*, xi. 28, 3, 4); the Athenians abandoned Attica and Athens at his approach, taking refuge a second time on their ships or on Salamis, so that Mardonius "only gained possession of a deserted town." This was ten months after Xerxes had taken the city, *i. e.* June of 479 b. c. Mardonius sent an envoy to Salamis repeating his former offers to the Athenians, but the envoy was sent back and the Athenian councillor who favored accepting his terms was stoned to death with his wife and children (*cc. 4, 5.*) As they fled a second time to take refuge on Salamis (in *Diod. Sic.*, xi. 28, 5, it is before they abandon their city), the Athenians sent an embassy to Sparta reproaching the Lacedæmonians for having allowed the Barbarian to come a second time into Attica instead of opposing him with the Athenians in Bœotia as they had promised (*c. 6*). This embassy found the Spartans celebrating the *Hyacinthia*, and bent on completing their wall across the Isthmus of Corinth. They accuse the Spartans of breaking faith, and implore them to go out to meet Mardonius in Attica at least, since Bœotia was lost (*c. 7*). The Spartan Ephors delayed answer for ten successive days, while their allies were hurrying the wall at the Isthmus to completion. This wall made them less anxious for Athenian co-operation than when they had sent their embassy to counteract the offers of Mardonius (*c. 8*). But on the day before the last audience fixed for the Athenian embassy, the Spartans were persuaded (by Chileiūs the Tegean, according to Herodotus) that they ought to grant the request of the Athenians, whatever might be the advantage of their Isthmian wall, and sent forth that same night five thousand Spartans, each attended by seven Helots, under the command of Pausanias (*cc. 9, 10*). On the following day, the Athenian embassy rebuked the Ephors once more for their procrastination and treachery, and threatened to make alliance with Persia. But "the Ephors declared to them with an oath: 'Our troops must be at Oresteium' (in Arcadia) 'by this time, on their march against the strangers'

(they called the Barbarians 'strangers')." The Athenian ambassadors were astonished at the truth, of which they became convinced by many questions, and set off with speed to overtake the Spartan army (*c.* 11).

Aside from making Aristides the chief personage in the Athenian procedure, the condensation of Herodotus' story is closely accurate. Plutarch, however, corrects this eulogistic perversion of history by means of the official decree sending the embassy to Sparta. This did not contain the name of Aristides. Plutarch found the decree in the collection of Craterus (see the Introduction, p. 40).

Idomeneus: see the Introduction, p. 42.

Cimon: son of Miltiades the hero of Marathon, the brilliant young aristocrat whom Aristides and the other opponents at Athens of Themistocles, aided by the Spartans, were pushing forward into prominence. Compare the *Themistocles*, *c.* xx. *fin.*, and see the note on *Themist.*, xix. 1.

Xanthippus: not the son of Ariphron and father of Pericles, but another Xanthippus, who was Archon *Eponymous* in 479/8 B. C. The former Xanthippus was commander of the Athenian fleet in place of Themistocles (*Herod.*, viii. 131).

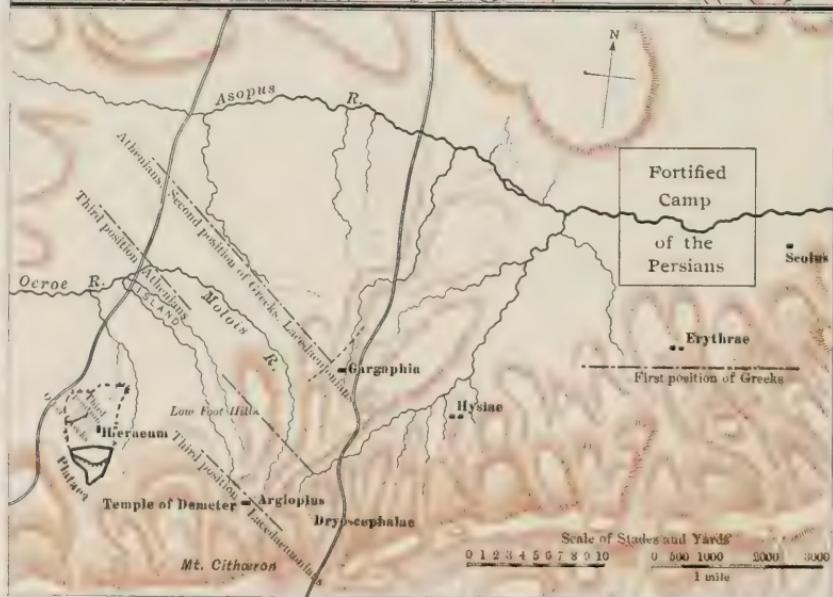
Myronides: afterwards one of the generals at Plataea (*c.* 20, 1), and later still (457, 456 B. C.) winner of famous victories over Corinthians and Boeotians (*Thucyd.*, i. 105, 108).

XI.-XXI. The battles at Plataea.

The story is told with generous detail by Herodotus, ix. 12-89, and is epitomized by Diodorus Siculus (Ephorus), xi. 28-33. Comparison of the three accounts sheds interesting light on the aims and methods of Herodotus, Ephorus, and Plutarch. As the story of Herodotus is the basis for the other two, it is best to keep its general course well in mind. It runs as follows, grouping by the three successive positions of the Greeks:

(1) *cc.* 12-24 (*Diodorus*, *cc.* 28, 6 — 30, 4), *Plutarch*, *cc.* xi. 1, xiv.

Mardonius burns Athens, retires into Boeotia, and encamps



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(a) BOEOTIA AND CONFINES.
(b) BATTLE-FIELD OF PLATAEA.

along the river Asopus, his forces stretching “from Erythræ, along by Hysiæ, to the territory of the Platæans” (*c.* 15); the Spartans, joined by the other Peloponnesians at the Isthmus, march to Eleusis, where they are joined by the Athenian contingent. The combined forces march to Erythræ in Bœotia, and dispose themselves opposite the enemy “upon the slopes of Mount Cithæron” (*c.* 19); the Persians attack with their cavalry under Masistius, who is defeated and slain (*cc.* 20-24 = *Plutarch*, *c.* xiv.).

(2) *cc.* 25-50 (*Diodorus*, *c.* 30, 4, 5, omitting then all the Herodotean details from *c.* 25 to *c.* 58,—the final battle in the third position), *Plutarch*, *cc.* xi., xii., xv., xvi.

In consequence of their victory over the Persian cavalry, the Greeks took up a new and bolder position. They moved from high ground on the slopes of Cithæron down into the plain, and toward Platæa. “Here they drew themselves up, nation by nation, close by the fountain Gargaphia, and the sacred precinct of the Hero Androcrates (*cf.* *Plutarch*, *c.* xi. 2, 5), partly along some hillocks of no great height, and partly upon the level of the plain” (*c.* 25); the Tegeans and Athenians dispute for the left wing of the line of battle (*cc.* 26-28, 1 = *Plutarch*, *c.* xii.), “and forthwith all the Lacedæmonian troops cried out with one voice that the Athenians were worthier to have the left wing than the Arcadians. In this way were the Tegeans overcome, and the post was assigned to the Athenians” (*Herod.*, *c.* 28, 1); muster and marshalling of the Greek and Persian armies (*cc.* 28-32); the prophecy of Tisamenus (*cc.* 33-36 = *Plutarch*, xi. 2) for the Spartans, of Hegesistratus the Eleian for Mardonius (*c.* 37); the two armies confront one another for eleven days, during which the Persian cavalry cut off a supply-train and otherwise harass the Greeks, and at last Mardonius calls a council of war and forces his resolution to attack upon his reluctant officers (*cc.* 38-43 = *Plutarch*, *c.* xv. 1); the friendly visit of Alexander of Macedon by night to the Greeks (*cc.* 44, 45 = *Plutarch* *c.* xv. 2, 3); in the morning the two armies change their wings about, once and

again (cc. 46, 47=Plutarch, c. xvi.) ; the Persians then cut the Greeks off from their water and supplies (cc. 48-50), and therefore the Greeks are in great distress.

(3) cc. 51-89 (Diodorus, cc. 31-33, continuing from his account of the first cavalry battle, and now describing the final battle), Plutarch, cc. xvi. *fin.*—xxi.

During the night the Greeks retire in confusion toward a third position, still nearer Platæa, but the Lacedæmonian allies go too far, and the Athenians lose touch with the Spartans (cc. 51, 52=Plutarch, c. xvi. *fin.*, xvii. 1); Amompharetus delays the Spartans (cc. 53-57=Plutarch, c. xvii. 1, 2); in the morning, the Persians pursue and attack the Spartans, but are defeated by them (cc. 58-65=Plutarch, cc. xvii. 3-xix. 1=Diodorus, c. 31); the Athenians support the victorious Spartans (cc. 66-70=Plutarch, cc. xvii. 3, 4; xix. 2=Diodorus, c. 32, 3-5); supplementary details (cc. 71-89, Plutarch, cc. xix. 3-xxi, Diodorus, c. 33).

XI. 1. **General with sole powers**: see the note on *Themistocles*, vi. 1.

Eight thousand Athenian hoplites: the number is given in Herodotus, ix. 28, 3, with those of the other Greek states. In c. 29, Herodotus gives the total number of Greek hoplites as 38,700 ; of light-armed troops as 69,500 ; in all, “but eighteen hundred men short of one hundred and ten thousand” (c. 30). There were 10,000 Lacedæmonians, including 5,000 Spartans.

There Pausanias joined him: “At Eleusis they (the Lacedæmonian army marching from the Isthmus, nearly 60,000 strong) were joined by the Athenians, who had come across from Salamis, and now accompanied the main army.” *Herod.*, c. 19). Aristides joined Pausanias, in fact, but the reverse sounded better in Athenian ears.

The rest of the Hellenes: besides Peloponnesians and Athenians, Herodotus mentions Potidaeans (300), Eretrians and Styreans (600), Chalcideans (400), Ambraciots (500), Leucadians and Anactorians (800), Cephallenians (200), Æginetans (500), Megarians (3000), Platæans (600).

They built a quadrangular wall: “for he (Mardonius) wanted a rampart to protect his army from attack, and he likewise desired to have a place of refuge, whither his troops might flee, in case the battle should go contrary to his wishes. His army at this time lay on the Asopus, and stretched from Erythræ, along by Hysiae, to the territory of the Platæans. The wall, however, was not made to extend so far, but formed a square of about ten furlongs each way” (*Herod.*, c. 15).

XI. 2. Tisamenus the Eleian made prophecy: this item Plutarch has brought away from the long Herodotean episode (cc. 33-37), which follows the marshalling of the two hosts for the final struggle, and explains the eleven days’ delay (the sacrifices on both sides were not propitious for an attack). Here it serves to introduce the apocryphal oracle of Aristides, who, at all cost, must be made the hero of Platæa, instead of Pausanias, or, at least, a hero, with his Athenians. Athenians and their leader really played an insignificant part in the great series of battles. Tisamenus “found the victims favorable, if the Greeks stood on the defensive, but not if they began the battle or crossed the river Asopus” (*Herod.*, c. 36).

Aristides sent to Delphi: this, and what follows to the end of the chapter, is not given by Herodotus. It probably comes from Idomeneus, like many other variations from and additions to Herodotus in Plutarch’s account of Platæa. See the Introduction, pp. 42, 57.

Vows to Zeus: the Deliverer, or God of Freedom, to whom Pausanias and the allies sacrificed in the market-place of Platæa after their victory (*Thucyd.*, ii. 71, 2).

Cithæronian Hera: Hera was worshipped at Platæa, with Zeus. Every sixth year, according to the local guide of Pausanias (ix. 3, 3), the Platæans celebrated a great festival in their honor on the top of Mount Cithæron, where “an altar has been got ready.” The Heræum, or temple of Hera, lay on the plateau just to the north of the ancient city of Platæa. See the note on xviii. 1.

Pan and the Sphragitic nymphs: "Just about fifteen furlongs down from the summit on which they make the altar" (see the last note), "there is a cave of the nymphs of Cithæron: it is called Sphragidium, and the story goes that the nymphs gave oracles there in days of old." Pan is, of course, always associated with rural nymphs and wild mountain regions.

XI. 4. Arimnestus: mentioned in Pausanias (ix. 4, 2) as commander of the Platæans both at Marathon and at Platæa. Of him a statue was made, at the feet of Athena, in the sanctuary of that goddess at Platæa. See the second note on xx. 3.

A very ancient temple . . . of Eleusinian Demeter: mentioned also by Herodotus, cc. 57, 62, 65. From these passages and from Pausanias ix. 4, 3, the temple would seem to have been near Platæa itself, at least not more than fifteen furlongs distant. See also the next paragraph, where the Platæans control the site. It could not have needed to be discovered, as this late romance would imply. See the general note on c. xvii.

XI. 6. Many years afterwards: after the victory at Gaugamela, near Arbela, in 331 B.C., according to Plutarch's *Alexander*, c. xxxiv. Platæa had been destroyed by the Peloponnesians in 426, and again by the Thebans in 374 or 373. After Alexander annihilated Thebes in 335, the Hellenic allies voted that Platæa and Thespiaæ be rebuilt (Arrian, *Anab.*, i. 9, 9). The work may have dragged, or been entirely neglected. After the battle of Gaugamela, Alexander, "eager to gain honor with the Grecians, wrote to them that he would have all tyrannies abolished, that they might live free according to their own laws, and specially to the Platæans, that their city should be rebuilt, because their ancestors had permitted their countrymen of old to make their territory the seat of war, when they fought with the Barbarians for their common liberty."

When he was now King of Asia: according to Plutarch (*ibid.*), he was thus proclaimed and addressed after the victory of Gaugamela.

At the Olympic games: the apocryphal story would have us think of the festival of 330 b. c.

Bestowing their territory upon the Hellenes: this perversion and exaggeration of an original “furnished their territory for the Hellenes to contend in for their freedom,” is the natural basis for the invented Platæan “vote” of § 5. As the scene of the battle which achieved the freedom of Hellas from Persian domination, the city and country of Platæa were declared forever free and independent by Pausanias and the allies (*Thucyd.*, ii. 71, 72; *cf. c. xxi. 1* of the *Aristides*.)

XII. This dispute between the Tegeans and Athenians for the left wing is told at much greater length by Herodotus (*cc. 26–28, 1*), and with a charming parade of mythical and historical lore. It follows, in his narrative, the story of the repulse of the Persian cavalry, which Plutarch gives in *c. xiv.* “On each side were brought forward the deeds which they had done, whether in earlier or in later times. . . . First the Tegeans urged their claim, . . . and the Athenians made reply.” There is no mention of Aristides, for whose glorification the story is told in Plutarch, and the speech put into his mouth borrows several rhetorical points from what the Athenians say in *Herodotus*. It is not, however, the “councillors and leaders” who declare for the Athenians in *Herodotus*, but “all the Lacedæmonians,” to whom especially the disputants had appealed. Of course the Athenians, in *Herodotus*, cannot and do not forget Marathon.

XII. 1. As had always been the case: from the mythical times of the “Dorian Invasion” the Tegeans claimed; in fact, ever since their recognition of Spartan supremacy in the Peloponnesus, after sturdy resistance (*cf. Herod.*, i. 66–68).

XIII. This Athenian oligarchical conspiracy is mentioned only by Plutarch. His source is unknown, though the glorification of Aristides to which the episode is made to contribute, points to Idomeneus. How much truth there is in the story cannot be known. Herodotus has the Thebans

(ix. 2) and the Persian councillor Artabazus (ix. 41) count, in their advice to Mardonius not to fight the Greeks, on the inability of the Greek forces to hold together; but he has no suggestion of political fermentation among the Athenian contingent.

XIII. 3. **Lampræ, Acharnæ**: Attic demes (see the note on *Themist.* i. 1).

XIV. This successful repulse of the Persian cavalry, according to Herodotus (cc. 20-24), happened while the Greeks were in their first position, and led to their taking up a second and bolder one. This first change of position is ignored in the account of Plutarch.

The chief points in the brilliant story of Herodotus are as follows: Mardonius sends all his cavalry under Masistius to harass the Greeks and provoke them to come down into the plain; the Megarians, being most exposed, were hard pressed and sent to the Greek commanders to be relieved; Pausanias called for volunteers to man the dangerous outpost, but "none were willing to go, whereupon the Athenians offered themselves, and a body of picked men, three hundred in number, commanded by Olympiodorus, the son of Lampo, undertook the service" (c. 21 *fin.*); "selecting, to accompany them, the whole body of archers, these men relieved the Megarians, and occupied a post which all the other Greeks collected at Erythræ had shrunk from holding" (c. 22 *init.*); while the Barbarians charged in divisions, Masistius was thrown from his horse, which had been hit by an arrow, and slain; the enemy, perceiving their loss, charged in mass, and the Athenians therefore sent for succor; while the rest of the Greek infantry was coming up to their aid, the three hundred Athenians were driven off from the body of Masis-tius, "but when the other troops approached, the Persian horse could no longer hold their ground, but fled without carrying off the body" (c. 23 *fin.*).

The facts have no doubt been warped by the tradition which Herodotus follows, in favor of the Athenians, but it seems a safe conclusion that what three thousand heavy-

armed Megarians could not do under cavalry attacks, a nucleus of three hundred heavy-armed Athenians, supported by a large mass of mobile archers, could and did succeed in doing. We find the Spartan phalanx in its turn appealing for the aid of this mobile body of Athenian archers in the final struggle (*Herod.*, c. 60).

The version of the skirmish in *Diodorus* (Ephorus), xi. 30, 2-4, is rhetorically colorless; but Ephorus puts the engagement before the change of position from the slopes of Cithæron into the plain. It is the second change of position which he eliminates (see the general note on xi.-xxi.). The Barbarians attack with all their horse by night (a favorite time for the schematic battles of Ephorus), but the Greeks, inspired by the success of the Athenians, worst their enemy, all except the Megarians. These were hard pressed by picked horsemen of the enemy, and sent for aid to the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. Aristides moved his own picked corps of Athenians at once to the rescue, and they charged the Barbarians, plucked the Megarians out of their peril, slew the Persian commander with many of his men, and routed the rest. The only specific item which this version has in common with that of Plutarch is the individual distinction given to Aristides.

XIV. 1. **After this:** before everything in Plutarch's story since xi. 2, according to Herodotus.

At the foot of Cithæron: ignoring the first change of position down into the plain, as Herodotus tells the story.

To the number of three thousand: again the number is taken, by Plutarch or his source, from the muster of both armies in *Herodotus*, cc. 28-32. See the note on xi. 1.

XIV. 2. **Hidden from view by the enemy's arrows:** an evident reminiscence of the famous *mot* of Dieneces the Spartan (*Herod.*, vii. 226): "A speech which he made before the Greeks engaged the Medes" (at Thermopylæ) "remains on record. One of the Trachinians told him, such was the number of the Barbarians, that when they shot forth their arrows the sun would be darkened by their multitude.

Dieneces, not at all frightened, . . . answered, . . . 'If the Medes darken the sun, we shall have our fight in the shade.'

The rest all hesitated: as in *Herodotus*,—doubtless an Athenian increment to the tradition.

Aristides in behalf of the Athenians: it is simply "the Athenians" in *Herodotus*. The concentration upon their leader, Aristides, is, of course, a perfectly natural feature of the tradition subsequent to *Herodotus*.

Olympiodorus: generally supposed to be father of that Lampo who was famous as seer, friend of Pericles, and one of the founders of Thurii, where Herodotus was for some years resident. Through him the historian may have got the vivid details of this engagement, in which his father bore so prominent a part. This would be oral tradition of the best quality.

XIV. 3. Masistius: "Now Masistius was a man of much repute among the Persians, and rode a Nisæan charger, with a golden bit, and otherwise magnificently caparisoned" (*Herod.*, c. 20). "As the Barbarians continued charging in divisions, the horse of Masistius, which was in front of the others, received an arrow in his flank, the pain of which caused him to rear and throw his rider. Immediately the Athenians rushed upon Masistius as he lay, caught his horse, and when he himself made resistance, slew him. At first, however, they were not able to take his life; for his armor hindered them. He had on a breastplate formed of golden scales, with a scarlet tunic covering it. Thus the blows all falling on his breastplate took no effect, till one of the soldiers, perceiving the reason, drove his weapon into his eye, and so slew him" (c. 22). It is easy to see, from the narrative of Plutarch, how popular tradition had toyed with these tempting details.

XIV. 4. The grief of the Barbarians: "They shaved off all the hair from their own heads, and cut the manes from their war-horses and sumpter-beasts, while they vented their grief in such loud cries that all Bœotia resounded with

the clamor, because they had lost the man who, next to Mardonius, was held in the greatest esteem, both by the King, and by the Persians generally" (*Herod.*, c. 24).

XV. This romantic midnight visit of Alexander the Macedonian to the Greek outposts is told with greater detail by Herodotus, *cc. 44, 45*. Plutarch's version looks like a free adaptation of Herodotus. According to Herodotus, when the night of the eleventh day since the two armies faced each other was well advanced, Alexander rode on horseback to the Athenian outposts, and desired to speak with the generals. They were summoned, and made haste to the outpost, where Alexander told them that Mardonius and his army were determined to disregard the unfavorable omens and attack on the following morning. Mardonius, he said, saw that the Greek forces were constantly increasing, and he had scant provisions in his present positions. The Greeks must not be taken by surprise. They were to keep this information secret "from all excepting Pausanias," lest Alexander come to destruction for his friendliness to the Greek cause. "As soon as he had said this, Alexander rode back to the camp, and returned to the station assigned him. Meanwhile the Athenian generals hastened to the right wing, and told Pausanias all that they had learnt from Alexander" (*cc. 45, 46*).

XV. 1. **For a long time**: about ten days, according to Herodotus, and two days after the Persians had cut the Greeks off from the pass of Mount Cithaeron (*cc. 40, 41*).

Since he had supplies, etc.: the reasons which determined Mardonius to wait no longer are put by Herodotus into the mouth of Alexander (*c. 45*).

Gave the watchword to his commanders: "ordered them to prepare themselves, and to put all in readiness for a battle upon the morrow" (*Herod.*, *c. 42 fin.*).

XV. 2. **Aristides the Athenian**: takes the place of "the Athenian generals" in *Herodotus*.

And then said: the speech of Alexander in *Plutarch* is only rhetorically different from that in *Herodotus*.

XV. 3. **It was not honorable, etc.**: an easy way to enhance the probity of Aristides. In *Herodotus*, Alexander bids the Athenian generals tell his tidings to Pausanias, but to none other.

XVI. This chapter covers the ground occupied by Herodotus in *cc.* 46-51. The variations are, on the whole, immaterial, but interesting, as revealing the process of adapting the material furnished by Herodotus to the more special purposes of biography. The adaptation is doubtless largely due to Idomeneus, but Plutarch also lends a willing hand. The main items of the Herodotean account are as follows: as soon as Pausanias heard the tidings of Alexander from the Athenian generals, he was struck with fear (a delightful Athenian distortion of the facts), and proposed the exchange of wings, on the ground that the Athenians had had experience of the Persians at Marathon, and the Spartans of the Bœotians and Thessalians; "both sides agreeing hereto, at the dawn of day the Spartans and Athenians changed places; the Bœotians gave notice of the movement to Mardonius, and he at once put his Persians opposite the Lacedæmonians; Pausanias then resumed the right wing, and Mardonius, following suit, his left; Mardonius then (in good Homeric fashion) sends a herald to the Spartans, taunting them with cowardice, and challenging them to separate battle with the Persians (*c.* 48); receiving no reply, Mardonius grows more confident, and sends his horsemen to harass the Greek lines; the Persian horse not only distress the Greek troops, but cut off and destroy their water supply (the fountain of Gargaphia), and prevent the arrival of provisions from the south; the Greek commanders therefore "held a meeting on these matters at the headquarters of Pausanias on the right" (*c.* 50).

XVI. 1. **At this juncture**: *i. e.* toward morning of the thirteenth day since the armies faced each other.

As Herodotus relates: the significance of this designation of source at just this point, when the same source is at least ultimately responsible for what precedes and follows,

is exceedingly hard to determine. Of course Plutarch is familiar with the Herodotean story, whether he is using it here at first hand or not. As the facts narrated become more startling, and a Spartan commander-in-chief calls upon an Athenian general to assume the post of chief honor and danger, Plutarch may simply reinforce his statement by an appeal to the ultimate source, regardless of the fact that Aristides is not mentioned by name there, but rather in the secondary source, Idomeneus, whose version Plutarch finds more to his purpose as a biographer. Or, Plutarch may simply copy the citation from his secondary source. Such uncertainties can never be removed.

Thought it inconsiderate: there is no trace of such reluctance in *Herodotus*, but later tradition has invented it to throw into relief the virtue of Aristides. Plutarch's adoption of the invention, in spite of his familiarity with *Herodotus*, leaves us free to hold him responsible for it.

XVI. 2. Contended with the Tegeans: see *c. xii.*

XVI. 3. Variegated vesture, etc.: see the note on *Themistocles*, xviii. 1. The rhetoric of the passage sounds like Plutarch.

Or to fortune: with reference to Salamis,— the good fortune of fighting in the narrows. The couplet Miltiades — fortune, matches rhetorically the preceding couplet, Marathon — Salamis.

XVI. 4. The Thebans heard of it from deserters: an inferential enlargement, by Plutarch or his secondary source, of the “was perceived by the Boeotians” of Herodotus.

Through fear of the Athenians: clearly an Athenian increment to the tradition. It is the second alternative of Plutarch, the “ambition to engage with the Lacedæmonians,” which Herodotus develops in broadest epic fashion.

To a position farther on: “to the ‘Island,’ — a tract of ground which lies in front of Platæa, at the distance of ten furlongs from the Asopus and Fount Gargaphia, where the army was encamped at that time” (*Herod.*, *c. 51, 1*). “This was the place to which the Greeks resolved to remove;

and they chose it, first, because they would there have no lack of water, and secondly, because the horse could not harass them as when it was drawn up right in their front" (*ibid.*, § 2). "It was agreed, likewise, that after they had reached the place, . . . they should dispatch, the very same night, one half of their army towards the mountain range of Cithæron, to relieve those whom they had sent to procure provisions, and who were now blocked up in that region" (*ibid.*).

XVII. Compare *Herodotus*, cc. 52-61, where the story runs as follows: at the second watch of the night, the hour agreed upon for the retreat, "the greater number struck their tents and began the march towards the rear," but, in fear of the Persian horse, passed the appointed rendezvous,— the "Island," — and "fled straight to Platæa," twenty furlongs instead of the ten commanded (c. 52); Pausanias, setting out to follow with his Lacedæmonians, is detained by the obstinacy of Amompharetus (c. 53); the Athenians, on the extreme left wing, send a mounted herald to ask Pausanias what to do (c. 54); Pausanias shows the herald his dilemma, and bids him tell the Athenians to get into touch with the Lacedæmonians, and retreat or not according to their movements (c. 55); at dawn, Pausanias with the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans abandoned Amompharetus and his division to their fate, and set out for the appointed rendezvous at the "Island," but by a circuitous route along the foot-hills of Cithæron, while the Athenians set out for the rendezvous in a direct course through the plain (c. 56); Amompharetus at last sets out after Pausanias, and joins him where he had halted and was waiting, "on the river Molœis, at a place called Argiopius, where stands a temple dedicated to Eleusinian Demeter (Ceres):" the Persian cavalry here overtake them and begin to harass them (c. 57); Mardonius, hearing of the retreat of the Greeks, assumed that they were in flight, and crossed the Asopus with his Persian foot in hot pursuit of the Lacedæmonians, not seeing, and leaving at his right, the Athenians; the other divisions of the barbarian

army also crossed the Asopus and hurried after Mardonius in great disorder (*c.* 59); Pausanias sends a horseman to the Athenians asking their assistance (*c.* 60); the Athenians are prevented from giving assistance because attacked by the “Greeks on the King’s side, whose place in the line had been opposite them,” and so the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans are left to resist the Persians alone; their sacrifice gives no favorable omens for attack, and many of them are wounded by the clouds of Persians arrows (*c.* 61).

XVII. 1. **Their first defences:** rather their second, according to the narrative of Herodotus. See the general note on xi.-xxi.

Most of them: the centre, evidently, composed, according to Herodotus (*c.* 28), of 12,300 Peloponnesians, and 6,900 from other parts of Hellas (see the note on xi. 1), all heavy-armed, together with about the same number of light-armed troops. But the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans who defeated the Persians of Mardonius numbered 53,000 according to Herodotus, *c.* 61, and the Athenians numbered 8,000 hoplites and as many light-armed troops. These did not decamp and retire in hasty disorder, and they must have formed the greater part of the army.

The Lacedæmonians alone: with them were three thousand Tegeans “whom nothing could induce to quit their side” (*Herod.*, *c.* 61).

Amompharetus: “the son of Poliadas, who was leader of the Pitanate cohort. . . . It had happened that he was absent from the former conference of the commanders, and so what was now taking place astonished him” (*Herod.*, *c.* 53). Whatever the “Pitanate cohort” was,—and ancient authorities (including Herodotus and Thucydides) as well as modern are greatly at variance on the question,—it was a large and important division of the Spartan army,—possibly as large as one-sixth, or even one-fourth,—and Amompharetus an officer of high rank, entitled to a vote in councils of war. Herodotus probably got the details of this affair at first hand. “I myself once fell in with the grandson of this

Archias" (who died the death of a hero in the expedition of the Lacedæmonians against Samos, about 525 b. c.), "a man named Archias, like his grandsire, and the son of Samius, whom I met at Pitana, to which canton (of Sparta) he belonged" (iii. 55). "Pitana appears to have been the aristocratic quarter" (Frazer, on *Pausanias*, iii., 16, 9). There were three other quarters, or wards.

XVII. 2. **Picked up a great stone**: small stones, or pebbles, were used as ballots.

Sent to the Athenians: according to Herodotus, the Athenians sent a mounted herald to Pausanias. See the general note at the beginning of the chapter. The story of Herodotus has a decided Athenian coloring. "Knowing that it was the Spartan temper to say one thing and do another, . . . they dispatched a horseman to see whether the Spartans really meant to set forth, or whether after all they had no intention of moving" (c. 54).

XVII. 3. **With great shouting and clamor**: Herodotus says, of the other divisions of the Barbarians, who were following after Mardonius and his Persians: "On they went with loud shouts and in a wild rout, thinking to swallow up the runaways" (c. 59 *fin.*).

Forgot to give the signal to the confederate Hellenes: an attempt, whether justifiable or not, to soften the aspersions of Herodotus upon the conduct of the allies. Pausanias sent a horseman to the Athenians (*Herod.*, c. 60), and might have done the same thing for the allies, perhaps did. The allies did not control the literary tradition of the battle as the Athenians did.

XVII. 4. **The horsemen were charging upon them**: in *Herodotus*, this precedes the attack of Mardonius (c. 57). Mardonius and his troops, according to Herodotus, "made a rampart of their wicker shields, and shot from behind them such clouds of arrows that the Spartans were sorely distressed" (c. 61). The tactics of Pausanias were such that the Persian horse could not annoy him much. But owing to the arrows of the Persian infantry, "many fell on the

Spartan side, and a still greater number were wounded" (*ibid.*). Plutarch introduces the Persian rampart of wicker shields in the following chapter, after the Spartans advance to the attack.

Callicrates: this Homeric episode is told by Herodotus among the supplementary details of the battle, in *c.* 72 (see the general note on xi.-xxi.): "As for Callicrates, the most beautiful man, not among the Spartans only, but in the whole Greek camp,—he was not killed in the battle; for it was while Pausanias was still consulting the victims, that as he sat in his proper place in the line, an arrow struck him in the side. While his comrades advanced to the fight, he was borne out of the ranks, very loath to die, as he showed by the words which he addressed to Arimnestus, one of the Platæans; 'I grieve,' said he, 'not because I have to die for my country, but because I have not lifted my arm against the enemy, or done any deed worthy of me, much as I have desired to achieve something.'"

XVII. 5. Some Lydians fell upon him: this Lydian episode, which Plutarch gives on inferior authority ("some say"), is clearly an invention to explain the inexplicable annual custom at Sparta,—a mysterious survival of ancient rite,—of beating youths till they were bloody around the altar of Artemis *Orthia*, and the ceremonial "procession of the Lydians" which followed, the origin and meaning of which had been forgotten. Both customs antedated long the battle of Platæa. Some writer on Spartan antiquities is Plutarch's source, though Plutarch had himself witnessed the rite: "I myself have seen several of the (Spartan) youths endure whipping to death at the foot of the altar of Artemis surnamed *Orthia*" (*Lycurgus*, xviii. 1).

Pausanias describes the sanctuary of Artemis *Orthia* and the rite of *mastigosis*, or scourging, in iii. 16, 7-10. The Spartans were "bidden by an oracle to wet the altar with human blood. A man upon whom the lot fell was sacrificed; but Lycurgus changed the custom into that of scourging the lads, and so the altar reeks with human blood." Mr. Frazer,

in his interesting and exhaustive note on the passage, says: "Although tradition averred that the scourging of the youths was instituted as a substitute for human sacrifice, analogy suggests that it was simply one of those cruel ordeals which among savage tribes youths have to undergo on attaining to manhood. . . . Probably these ordeals were originally instituted, not as tests of endurance, but as religious purifications."

XVIII. Compare *Herodotus*, cc. 61 *fin.*, 62, 63, 67; *Diodorus*, c. 31. Plutarch's story, in this and the following chapter, is mostly composed of Herodotean material, whether taken directly or not. Additional material from Idomeneus, his secondary source, and from Thucydides, will be pointed out in the running notes. But everywhere the freely adapting work of Plutarch himself,— his independent reproduction in a fully blended form of the miscellaneous material and literary reminiscences at his command,— must be recognized. Diodorus (Ephorus) gives us the most skeleton-like epitome of Herodotus, without an additional detail.

XVIII. 1. "The victims continued unpropitious till at last Pausanias raised his eyes to the Heraeum of the Platæans, and calling the goddess to his aid, besought her not to disappoint the hopes of the Greeks" (*Herod.*, c. 61 *fin.*). "As he offered his prayer, the Tegeans, advancing before the rest, rushed forward against the enemy; and the Lacedæmonians, who had obtained favorable omens the moment that Pausanias prayed, at length, after their long delay, advanced to the attack; while the Persians, on their side, left shooting and prepared to meet them" (c. 62 *init.*).

All tears: a Homeric touch of Plutarch's. Blass aptly cites the scene (*Il.*, xvi. 1-48) where Patroclus, in anguish at the disasters of the Greeks, appears before Achilles to beg his armor and permission to enter the battle:

" Meanwhile Patroclus stood beside his friend,
The shepherd of the people, Peleus' son,
And shed hot tears, as when a fountain sheds
Dark waters streaming down a precipice." (Bryant.)

Toward the Heræum: the reference is not plain in Plutarch's story, but perfectly so in the story of Herodotus, because he has taken pains to locate the temple in an earlier passage, namely, where he is describing the panic flight of the Greek centre (c. 52): "They fled straight to Platæa; where they took post at the temple of Hera, which lies outside the city, at the distance of about twenty furlongs from Gargaphia, and here they pitched their camp in front of the sacred building." "The ruins of Platæa lie on a plateau at the foot of Cithæron about two and a half miles from the Asopus, which flows at this point in a comparatively straight line toward the east" (W. I. Hunt, in *Papers of the American School at Athens*, Vol. V., p. 273, *The Battlefield of Platæa*). "The Heræum was therefore in the direction of Platæa from the middle of the (second Greek) line, and the site was probably unfavorable for a cavalry attack, or the Greeks would not have halted so comfortably. If it was in the northern (and lower) part of the plateau upon which Platæa lies that they halted, they would be protected on the west and north; for at this point the plateau rises somewhat abruptly from the plain" (*ibid.*, p. 278). At the time of the battle, the city of Platæa occupied the southern portion only of the plateau, and the Heræum, therefore, lay below the city on the lower plateau to the north. It was easily seen by Pausanias, who stood on higher ground to the southeast.

Cithæronian Hera: see the note on xi. 2.

XVIII. 2. They made a rampart of their targets, etc.: Plutarch has carelessly transposed this feature out of its proper place. It preceded the long delay of the Spartan attack, and ceased with the attack.

Tore away their wicker targets, etc.: "And first the combat was at the wicker shields" (continuing the citation in § 1). "Afterwards, when these were swept down, a fierce contest took place by the side of the temple of Demeter (Ceres), which lasted long, and ended in a hand-to-hand struggle. The Barbarians many times seized hold of the

Greek spears and brake them; for in boldness and warlike spirit the Persians were not a whit inferior to the Greeks; but they were without bucklers, untrained, and far below the enemy in respect of skill in arms. Sometimes singly, sometimes in bodies of ten, now fewer and now more in number, they dashed forward upon the Spartan ranks, and so perished" (*Herod.*, c. 62).

XVIII. 3. **As they say**: Herodotus says so distinctly,—in fact devotes two chapters (60, 61) to the episode. See the general note on xvii. It was before the attack of the Persian infantry that Pausanias sent for Athenian aid, and the Athenians at once set out to join him, but were prevented by the onset of the medising Greeks. Plutarch would prefer to have the Athenians started on their way to aid the Spartans by the sounds of battle rather than by a messenger, for if a messenger could be sent to the Athenians, why not also to the decamping centre? But this would conflict with his apology for the non-participation of the centre in the battle (see xvii. 3 and note). His "as they say," then, is a slur upon testimony which is unwelcome to him.

Aristides: again stands for "the Athenians" of Herodotus. And there is no rhetoric wasted on the medisers in Herodotus. The Athenians "were anxious to go to the aid of the Spartans, and to help them to the uttermost of their power; but, as they were upon the march, the Greeks on the King's side, whose place in the line had been opposite to them, fell upon them, and so harassed them by their attacks that it was not possible for them to give the succor they desired" (*Herod.*, c. 61).

XVIII. 4. **About fifty thousand in number**: these consisted of Bœotians, Locrians, Malians, and Thessalians, according to Herodotus (c. 31), but he does not state their number.

Chiefly with the Thebans: "As for the Greeks upon the King's side, while most of them played the coward purposely, the Bœotians, on the contrary, had a long struggle

with the Athenians. Those of the Thebans who were attached to the Medes, displayed especially no little zeal; far from playing the coward, they fought with such fury that three hundred of the best and bravest among them were slain by the Athenians in this passage of arms. But at last they too were routed, and fled away,—not however, in the same direction as the Persians and the crowd of allies, who, having taken no part in the battle, ran off without striking a blow,—but to the city of Thebes" (*Herod.*, c. 67). This bitterly anti-Theban Athenian version of Herodotus is very unpalatable to Plutarch. He therefore slurs it with his "is said," which, like the "as they say" of § 3, implies untrustworthiness, and he mitigates the lack of Hellenic patriotism which the Thebans undoubtedly displayed by the apologetic reference to the undue influence of the oligarchical few over the masses which follows. This is suggested to him by the remarkable defence which Thucydides (iii. 62) puts into the mouth of the Thebans, when they argue with the Spartans for the death of the Platæans, after the capture of their city in 427 B. C. "In those days our state was not governed by an oligarchy which granted equal justice to all, nor yet by a democracy; the power was in the hands of a small cabal, than which nothing is more opposed to law or to true political order, or more nearly resembles a tyranny. The rulers of the state, hoping to strengthen their private interest if the Persian won, kept the people down and brought him in. The city at large, when she acted thus, was not her own mistress; and she cannot be fairly blamed for an error which she committed when she had no constitution."

XIX. Compare Herodotus, *cc.* 63–70, 85, and see the general note on the preceding chapter.

XIX. 1. **In two places:** on the right, near the temple of Demeter (Ceres), between the Spartans (and Tegeans) and the Persians under Mardonius; and on the left, down in the valley, between the Athenians and the medising Greeks.

First to repulse the Persians : this is not expressly stated by Herodotus, but is a natural inference from several incidents in his story.

Mardonius was slain, etc. : "The fight went most against the Greeks where Mardonius, mounted upon a white horse, and surrounded by the bravest of all the Persians, the thousand picked men, fought in person. So long as Mardonius was alive, this body resisted all attacks, and, while they defended their own lives, struck down no small number of Spartans; but after Mardonius fell, and the troops with him, which were the main strength of the army, perished, the remainder yielded to the Lacedæmonians, and took to flight" (*Herod.*, c. 63). "Mardonius was slain by Aeimnestus, a man famous in Sparta" (c. 64). Further details of his death are not given by Herodotus. "The body of Mardonius disappeared the day after the battle; but who it was that stole it away I cannot say with certainty. I have heard tell of a number of persons, and those too of many different nations, who are said to have given him burial; and I know that many have received large sums on this score from Artontes the son of Mardonius; but I cannot discover with any certainty which of them it was who really took the body away and buried it. Among others, Dionysophanes, an Ephesian, is rumored to have been the actual person" (*Herod.*, c. 84).

Popular tradition revelled in the uncertainties of the case. The only certain fact was that Mardonius disappeared after bravely but hopelessly resisting the charge of the heavy-armed Spartan infantry. The brief compendium of Aristodemus (*circa* 200 A. D.), based almost entirely on Herodotus for the period of the Persian wars, can still find space to add the detail of Mardonius' fighting "bare-headed." A phrase of Ephorus (*Diodorus*, c. 31, 2) implies that he fell stunned, not dead, and later tradition was not slow to take the hint and have Mardonius escape with wounds (so Ctesias, *Persica*, 25, and *Justin*, ii. 14, 5 : "nam victus Mardonius veluti ex naufragio cum paucis profugit"). Pau-

sanius, writing in the second half of the second century A. D., says (ix. 2, 2): "Returning to the highway (between Erythræ and Platæa) we come to what is said to be the tomb of Mardonius, also on the right. That the corpse of Mardonius disappeared immediately after the battle is admitted; but people are not agreed as to the person who buried it. It is known that Mardonius' son Artontes gave many gifts, not only to Dionysophanes of Ephesus, but also to other Ionians, on the ground that they had been not unmindful of having Mardonius buried."

Arimnestus: this is an error, either of Plutarch or his source (or both), for the Aeimnestus of Herodotus.

The shrine of Amphiaraüs: see the note on iii. 3. As the seer fled before his Theban pursuer, the earth, struck by a thunderbolt, opened and received him, together with his chariot and steeds. A renowned dream-oracle long marked the spot. "At this sanctuary of Amphiaraüs near Thebes, oracles were given in dreams to inquirers who slept within the precinct" (Frazer's note on *Pausanias*, ix. 8, 3). According to Herodotus (viii. 133, 134), Mardonius, before leaving his winter quarters in Thessaly in the spring of 479 B. C., "despatched a man named Mys, an European (Carian) by birth, to go and consult the different oracles whereof he found it possible to make trial." Mys went to the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadeia, to "Abæ of the Phocians, and there consulted the god; while at Thebes, to which place he went first of all, he not only got access to Apollo Ismenius, . . . but likewise prevailed on a man who was not a Theban, but a foreigner, to pass the night in the temple of Amphiaraüs." The dream-oracle of Amphiaraüs at Oropus, on the confines of Attica and Bœotia, appears to have been transferred to that place from the neighborhood of Thebes, between 431 and 414 B. C.

A Lydian man, and a Carian besides, etc.: it was Mys the Carian, according to Herodotus (viii. 135), who consulted the oracle of the Ptoan Apollo, and received a response in the Carian tongue. The "Lydian man" of Plutarch may

have been the foreigner whom Mys hired to spend a night in the precinct of Amphiaraii.

The shrine of the Ptoan Apollo: “it is in the country of the Thebans, and is situate on the mountain (Mt. Ptoüs) side overlooking Lake Copais, only a little way from the town called Acræphia” (*Herod., loc. cit.*). Mr. Frazer’s note on *Pausanias*, ix. 23, 6 describes the locality and the shrine, and the results of the excavations of the French School in 1885, 1886, and 1891.

Addressed in the Carian tongue: “No sooner was he entered,” says Herodotus (viii. 135), “than the prophet delivered him an oracle, but in a foreign tongue; so that his Theban attendants were astonished, hearing a strange language when they expected Greek, and did not know what to do. Mys, however, the European, snatched from their hands the tablet which they had brought with them, and wrote down what the prophet uttered. The reply, he told them, was in the Carian dialect.”

XIX. 2. These things are so reported: a transition formula used much by Herodotus.

Their wooden stockade: the “quadrangular wall” mentioned in xi. 1. Its exact location cannot be determined. It was in Theban territory, but may have been, and probably was, at least partly, on the south side of the Asopus. See the map of the battle-field of Platæa. “The Persians, as soon as they were put to flight by the Lacedæmonians, ran hastily away, without preserving any order, and took refuge in their own camp, within the wooden defence which they had raised in the Theban territory” (*Herod., ix. 65*).

Routed the Thebans: see xviii. 4, and notes.

There came a messenger: not mentioned by Herodotus. It may be a not unnatural repetition of the incident in xvii. 2 and xviii. 3.

Suffered the Hellenes to make good their escape: they were not so magnanimous as this would represent them, for the Persian and Boeotian cavalry “did good service to the flying foot-men, by advancing close to the enemy, and

separating between the Greeks and their own fugitives" (*Herod.*, c. 68 *fin.*).

They brought welcome aid to the Lacedæmonians, etc. : so Herodotus, but we may be sure that Athenian tradition has magnified the aid. "So long as the Athenians were away, the Barbarians kept off their assailants, and had much the best of the combat, since the Lacedæmonians were unskilled in the attack of walled places; but on the arrival of the Athenians, a more violent assault was made, and the wall was for a long time attacked with fury. In the end the valor of the Athenians and their perseverance prevailed, — they gained the top of the wall, and, making a breach through it, enabled the Greeks to pour in. The first to enter here were the Tegeans, and they it was who plundered the tent of Mardonius" (c. 70). Perhaps the Tegeans would have told the story otherwise. It is, however, a well attested fact that the Spartans were not good at siege operations (see Rawlinson's note *ad loc.*). During the Helot and Messenian rebellion of 465–455 B. C., "the siege of Ithomé proved tedious, and the Lacedæmonians called in, among other allies, the Athenians, who sent to their aid a considerable force under Cimon. The Athenians were specially invited because they were reputed to be skilful in siege operations, and the length of the blockade proved to the Lacedæmonians their own deficiency in that sort of warfare" (*Thucyd.*, i. 102). The Athenians were soon sent away, out of jealousy, and the siege lasted ten years. It was the Athenians, too, who developed the later and effective system of light-armed warfare.

Only forty thousand made their escape : here is some distortion of the witness of Herodotus: "With such tamelessness did the Barbarians submit to be slaughtered by the Greeks, that of the 300,000 men who composed the army, — omitting the 40,000 by whom Artabazus was accompanied in his flight (described fully in c. 66), — no more than 3000 outlived the battle. Of the Lacedæmonians from Sparta there perished in this combat ninety-one; of the Tegeans,

sixteen; of the Athenians, fifty-two" (*c. 70 fin.*). Artabazus, with his rear guard of forty thousand men, having been opposed to the plan of Mardonius from the start, when he saw that the Persians were in flight, "wheeled his troops suddenly around, and beat a retreat; nor did he even seek shelter within the palisade or behind the walls of Thebes, but hurried on into Phocis, wishing to make his way to the Hellespont with all possible speed" (*Herod.*, *c. 66 fin.*).

XIX. 3. In all, one thousand three hundred and sixty: Herodotus (see the citation in the preceding note) does not give the total loss of the Greek forces, nor, apparently, the total loss of Athenians, Tegeans, and Spartans during the whole series of battles, but only in the last desperate struggle at the stockade. Plutarch gets his sum total probably from Clidemus, an exceedingly good authority, from whom he also gets the item that the fifty-two Athenians who fell in the combat at the stockade were all from the *Æantid* tribe. The sum total of Greek dead which Plutarch takes from Clidemus seems a reasonable one for the whole series of engagements. The rhetorical Ephorus (*Diodorus*, xi. 32), finding no details in his Herodotus, makes them up to suit himself. According to him, one hundred thousand Barbarians were slain, and more than ten thousand Hellenes. He also has the Athenians, Plateans, and Thespians pursue the retreating Boeotians and medising Greeks up to the walls of Thebes, where they win another sanguinary victory, and then join the Lacedæmonians at the stockade. Here he holds the balance in his praises of the two great rival states very evenly. Both excel themselves in valor, and under their combined assaults the camp of the enemy is captured, when Pausanias, to remove the disparity in numbers between invaders and defenders, gives the order to take no enemy alive. This is Ephorus' improvement of the strange fact that Herodotus makes no mention of any prisoners of war.

XIX. 4. Astonishing is the statement of Herodotus: Plutarch's polemic against Herodotus is not without justifi-

cation, and is much more bitter in the *De Herodoti malignitate*, c. xlvi. (*Morals*, pp. 872, 873). Herodotus no doubt gave what he thought the best tradition in the matter, but it was warped and distorted by the hatreds which had sprung up among the Greek states since the battle of Platæa, and colored too highly with Athenian claims. In the decisive struggles of the last day the Lacedæmonians doubtless played the leading rôle, the Athenians a secondary one, and the other troops, constituting the Greek centre, an insignificant one comparatively. But during the eleven days before the last and decisive struggle the entire army of the Greeks had suffered at the hands of the enemy, and during the decisive struggle of the last day the conduct of the Greek centre was by no means so cowardly and dilatory as represented by Herodotus. "Meantime, while the flight continued, tidings reached the Greeks who were drawn up round the Heræum (see the note on xviii. 1) and so were absent from the battle, that the fight was begun, and that Pausanias was gaining the victory. Hearing this, they rushed forward without any order, the Corinthians taking the upper road across the skirts of Cithæron and the hills, which led straight to the temple of Demeter (Ceres); while the Megarians and Phliasians followed the level route through the plain. These last had almost reached the enemy, when the Theban horse espied them, and observing their disarray, despatched against them the squadron of which Asopodorus, the son of Timander, was captain. Asopodorus charged them with such effect that he left six hundred of their number dead upon the plain, and, pursuing the rest, compelled them to seek shelter in Cithæron. So these men perished without honor" (c. 69). The Corinthians, then, ten thousand strong, were not in the fight at all, although their position could be seen from where Pausanias stood. This looks like the same malice in Athenian tradition which makes the Corinthians play the rôle of despicable cowards at Salamis (*Herod.*, viii. 94), though the Corinthians themselves "declare that they were

any such strife between Athenians and Lacedæmonians as is here described, Herodotus would have given us some indication of it. It looks like a late invention to glorify Aristides, and probably came from Idomeneus, the source of much similar material. The beautiful temple-legend of Euchidas one is tempted to believe.

XX. 1. The highest meed of valor: "Among the Greeks," says Herodotus (*c.* 71), "the Athenians and Tegeans fought well; but the prowess shown by the Lacedæmonians was beyond either." This is the historian's personal verdict. Of an official verdict, or an attempt to obtain one, as after Salamis, he knows nothing. Ephorus (*Diodorus*, *c.* 33) has the Greeks, out of flattery, award the meed of valor to the Spartans among cities, and to Pausanias among individual men.

Leocrates and Myronides: the former was afterwards commander of the Athenians when, in 457, they defeated the *Æginetans* in a great sea-fight, and landed and laid successful siege to their city (*Thucyd.*, i. 105); for the latter, see the last note on *c. x.*

XX. 2. Theogeiton the Megarian, Cleocritus the Corinthian: these commanders would hardly have been so prominent in a dispute about the meed of valor if their forces had played the cowardly part assigned them in the battle by Herodotus (see the note on *xix. 4*).

XX. 3. Eighty talents of the booty for the Platæans: Herodotus gives (in *cc.* 80 and 81) a glowing description of the rich booty, and an apparently careful account of its distribution, but makes no mention of this allotment to the Platæans; nor does Thucydides make his Platæan spokesmen allude to it in the speeches where they refer to so many other matters connected with the victory won in their territory (ii. 71; iii. 58). Ephorus (*c.* 33) does not notice it. The next note suggests a possible origin of the mistaken story.

With which they rebuilt the sanctuary of Athena, etc.: "The Platæans have also a sanctuary of Athena surnamed

Warlike; it was built from the share which the Athenians assigned them of the booty taken at the battle of Marathon. The image is of wood gilded, but the face, hands, and feet are of Pentelic marble. In size it falls little short of the bronze image on the Acropolis, which the Athenians also dedicated from the spoils of the battle of Marathon. It was Phidias who made the image of Athena for the Platæans as well as for the Athenians. . . . At the feet of the image is a statue of Arimnestus, who commanded the Platæans at the battle with Mardonius, and previously at the battle of Marathon" (*Pausanias*, ix. 4, 1 and 2).

This Marathonian sanctuary, with its statue of Arimnestus who commanded at both Marathon and Platæa, doubtless led to the mistaken story which Plutarch here reproduces (or produces). Mr. Frazer, however, in his note on the passage in *Pausanias*, thinks the testimony of Plutarch the more credible.

Frescoes: these too *Pausanias* describes: "There are paintings in the temple: one of them, by Polygnotus, represents Ulysses after he has killed the wooers; the other, by Onasias, depicts the former expedition of the Argives, under Adrastus, against Thebes. These paintings are on the walls of the fore-temple" (*ibid.*).

Then the Lacedæmonians set up a trophy on their own account, etc.: again *Pausanias* may correct Plutarch. He says (ix. 2, 6): "The trophy which the Greeks set up for the battle of Platæa stands about fifteen furlongs from the city." Mr. W. I. Hunt, of the American School, supposed that the trophy was erected near the sanctuary of Demeter (Ceres), where the rout of the Persians took place. See Papers of the American School at Athens, v. p. 276.

XX. 5. A thousand furlongs: about 111 miles, the actual distance by road.

Eucleia: *Of Good Fame*, either among young men and maidens, as here, or among cities. We get traces of a cult of *Good Fame*, and *Good Order* at Athens. See Frazer's note on *Pausanias*, i. 14, 5.

XXI. 1. **A general assembly of the Hellenes, etc.** : "After the Greeks had buried their dead at Platæa," says Herodotus (*c.* 86), "they presently held a council, whereat it was resolved to make war upon Thebes, and to require that those who had joined the Medes should be delivered into their hands." Of this war upon Thebes, which Herodotus describes at length (*cc.* 86-88), Plutarch says never a word, and of other decisions of the council which are here given by Plutarch, Herodotus says nothing. We have good evidence, however, that Herodotus might have mentioned other decisions of this council, in the words put into the mouths of Platæan and Theban and Lacedæmonian speakers by Thucydides, in the passages already twice cited (see the notes on xi. 6 and xviii. 4), namely, ii. 71, 72, and iii. 53-67. "Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus," the Platæans say, "the Lacedæmonian, when he and such Hellenes as were willing to share the danger with him fought a battle in our land and liberated Hellas from the Persian, offered up a sacrifice in the Agora of Platæa to Zeus the God of Freedom, and in the presence of all the confederates then and there restored to the Platæans their country and city to be henceforth independent; no man was to make unjust war upon them at any time or to seek to enslave them; and if they were attacked, the allies who were present promised that they would defend them to the utmost of their power. These privileges your fathers granted to us as a reward for the courage and devotion which we displayed in that time of danger."

"Cast your eyes," the Platæans say to the Spartans, after surrendering to them in 427, "upon the sepulchres of your fathers slain by the Persians and buried in our land, whom we have honored by a yearly public offering of garments, and other customary gifts. We were their friends, and we gave them the firstfruits in their season of that friendly land in which they rest. . . . But if you put us to death, . . . are you not robbing your fathers and kindred of the honor which they enjoy? . . . Nay more, you enslave the

land in which the Hellenes won their liberty; . . . and you take away the sacrifices which our fathers instituted, from the city which ordained and established them."

A sacrifice of thanksgiving to Zeus Eleutherius (God of Freedom, or Deliverer), and the inviolability of Platæan territory, were, then, decreed by the "assembly of the Hellenes," according to Thucydides, and the Platæans undertook an annual celebration of the rite, and annual funeral offerings to the Hellenic dead at Platæa. Whatever is more than this in the account of Plutarch, which probably comes from Idomeneus, cannot be verified from other authorities. The prominence given to Aristides is, as usual in Plutarch's account of Platæa, a suspicious trait.

Every fourth year: like the Olympic festival.

Festival games of deliverance: described by Pausanias in the citation made in the note on "the altar," xix. 4.

XXI. 2. Maimacterion: the Attic month corresponding (nearly) to our November.

Myrtle-wreaths: wreaths and flowers we still offer to our dead. The Greeks added garments, food, and drink, with objects of household use and art which had given pleasure in life.

A black bull: the victims sacrificed to the dead and the gods of the lower world must be black.

XXI. 3. Robed in a purple tunic: the garb of the soldier.

XXI. 4. The sacred spring: a spring specially designated for this rite.

At the funeral pyre: so that the blood ran into a trench dug near by. It was then consumed with the garments and other offerings laid upon the pyre.

Zeus Terrestrial: *i. e.* Hades, or Pluto. With Hermes, the conductor of souls to the lower world, he is invoked to bring the departed spirits up to the sacrifice and offerings, that they may partake of them.

Pours a libation: upon the sacrificial pyre, as, after drinking the health of a living friend, he would pass the cup to that friend that he also might drink.

XXII–XXVII. In these chapters, Plutarch seems to have used Idomeneus as his chief source, but he has expanded in his own manner what he takes from Idomeneus, and has added much from his minor sources. Whether material which we can trace to an ultimate source in Ephorus, Theopompus, and Aristotle comes to us through the medium of Idomeneus, or has been added by Plutarch independently, are questions too delicate to be decided.

XXII. 1. This paragraph is probably a perversion (by Idomeneus, or Plutarch, or both) of a late oligarchical ascription to Aristides' personal activity of the slow process by which the Athenian people, without actual premeditation, swung itself up into the position of an imperial mistress of unwilling allies. In the *Constitution of Athens* of Aristotle, c. xxiv., we find: "After this" (the wresting of the Ionian alliance from Sparta by Aristides, and his establishment of the tributes to be paid Athens by her new allies), "the city being now emboldened by success, and possessed of accumulated wealth, he counselled them to assume the hegemony (of Hellas), and to come in from the rural districts to dwell in the city. He assured them that there would be support for all; some in offensive, some in defensive military service, and some in administering the commonwealth, and that thus they would maintain the hegemony." The Athenians follow this advice of Aristides, establish a supremacy over their allies, and thus ensure for themselves a plentiful support at their expense from tributes, tariffs, and the like, to the number of more than 20,000 citizens.

The *advice* of Aristides in this oligarchical invention of Aristotle's source, is converted into an actual and definite parliamentary *bill* by Idomeneus, just as, all through the story of Platæa, whatever the Athenians do is ascribed to his personal activity. According to Thucydides, ii. 14–16, the Athenians lived in the country, for the most part, as late as the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war (431 B.C.), and deemed the enforced removal to Athens a severe hardship.

The privilege of all classes: this had been the case since the reforms of Cleisthenes (508 B.C.). See the note on “five-hundred-bushelers,” i. 1.

XXII. 2. For this absurd invention, see the notes on *Themistocles*, xx. 1.

XXIII. Compare *Thucydides*, i. 94–96; *Diodorus* (Ephorus), xi. 44; *Nepos, Aristides*, ii.; and *Plutarch, Cimon*, vi., where, naturally, it is Cimon to whom the Athenians owe the good-will of the allies, not Aristides.

XXIII. 1. **To prosecute the war:** the war against Persia, with the intent to expel her from the Ægean. “Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, was now sent from Peloponnesus with twenty ships in command of the Hellenic forces; thirty Athenian ships and a number of the allies sailed with him. They first made an expedition against Cyprus, of which they subdued the greater part; and afterwards against Byzantium, which was in the hands of the Persians, and was taken while he was still in command” (*Thucyd.*, c. 94). This was probably in 478, just after the successful rebuilding of the walls of Athens (*Themistocles*, c. xix.). Aristides was probably in command of the Athenian contingent. For the biography of this hero the events of 479 were not so useful as for that of Themistocles, though the words of Thucydides show us that both were engaged in the great stratagem which secured the fortification of Athens (see the notes on *Themistocles*, xix. 1). Cimon was already being pushed forward into prominence by both Aristides and the Spartans, in order to offset the influence of Themistocles (see the last note on *Themistocles*, xx.).

Offensive and severe to the allies: “He had already begun to be oppressive, and the allies were offended with him, especially the Ionians and others who had been recently emancipated from the King. So they had recourse to their kinsmen the Athenians and begged them to be their leaders, and to protect them against Pausanias, if he attempted to oppress them. The Athenians took the matter up and prepared to interfere, being fully resolved to manage

the confederacy in their own way. In the meantime the Lacedæmonians summoned Pausanias to Sparta, intending to investigate certain reports which had reached them; for he was accused of numerous crimes by Hellenes returning from the Hellespont, and appeared to exercise his command more after the fashion of a tyrant than of a general. His recall occurred at the very time when the hatred which he inspired had induced the allies, with the exception of the Peloponnesians, to transfer themselves to the Athenians" (*Thucyd.*, c. 95).

XXIII. 2. According to the careful story of Thucydides (i. 128–134), giving the details of the treason and death of Pausanias, he had entered into communication with the Persian King shortly after the capture of Byzantium. "He had already acquired a high reputation among the Hellenes when in command at Platæa, and now he was so great that he could no longer contain himself or live like other men. As he marched out of Byzantium he wore Persian apparel. On his way through Thrace he was attended by a body-guard of Medes and Egyptians, and he had his table served after the Persian fashion. He could not conceal his ambition, but indicated by little things the greater designs which he was meditating. He made himself difficult of access, and displayed such a violent temper towards everybody that no one could come near him; and this was one of the chief reasons why the confederacy transferred themselves to the Athenians" (*Thucyd.*, c. 130).

There is an incomplete historical romance of Walter Savage Landor's, called "Pausanias," which is based on these testimonies.

XXIII. 3. **Especially the Chians, Samians, and Lesbians:** according to Aristotle (*Constitution of Athens*, xxiv. 1, cited in part in the note on c. xxii. 1), these were the only allies whom Athens did not treat imperiously from the start. All three subsequently revolted from Athens: Samos in 440, Lesbos in 428, and Chios in 412. The first two were reduced to subjection like the smaller allies, and Chios was attacked and much harassed.

To Aristides: the “Athenians” of Thucydides is narrowed down by late biographical tradition to Aristides, exactly as in the story of Plataea by Herodotus.

XXIII. 4. This paragraph can hardly be regarded as historical. Its details were probably taken by Plutarch from Idomeneus. They cannot be traced even to the rhetorical version of the Thucydidean story which Diodorus (Ephorus) gives, and are probably lively inventions. See the elaborate note of Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, iii. p. 32 ff. But even here Plutarch gives a composite result, and the next paragraph especially betrays his blending touch.

XXIII. 5. **The lofty wisdom of Sparta:** far different is the tone of Thucydides: “On arriving at Lacedæmon” (continuing the citation in the note on § 1), “he was punished for the wrongs which he had done to particular persons, but he had been also accused of conspiring with the Persians, and of this, which was the principal charge and was generally believed to be proven, he was acquitted. The government, however, did not continue him in his command, but sent in his place Dorcis and certain others with a small force. To these the allies refused allegiance, and Dorcis, seeing the state of affairs, returned home. Henceforth the Lacedæmonians sent out no more commanders, for they were afraid that those whom they appointed would be corrupted, as they had found to be the case with Pausanias; they had had enough of the Persian War; and they thought that the Athenians were fully able to lead, and at that time believed them to be their friends.” The last sentence is significant in its bearing on the question of the gradual decline, from this time on, of the influence of Themistocles. Sparta’s hatred toward him for his great deception of her in the matter of the Athenian walls threw her into alliance with and friendly support of Aristides and Cimon, his political rivals.

XXIV. Compare *Thucydides*, i. 96; *Diodorus* (Ephorus) xi. 47; Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, xxiii. 5: *Nepos, Aristides*, iii.

XXIV. 1. **Asked the Athenians for Aristides:** in the matter of the assessment of the tribute for the Confederacy of Delos, as in the story of the battles at Platea, the historical tradition has constantly tended to exalt more and more the individual services of Aristides. The earliest testimony, that of Thucydides, is general in its tone, and does not mention the name of Aristides. "Thus the Athenians by the good-will of the allies, who detested Pausanias, obtained the leadership. They immediately fixed which of the cities should supply money and which of them ships for the war against the Barbarians, the avowed object being to compensate themselves and their allies for their losses by devastating the King's country. Then was first instituted at Athens the office of Hellenic treasurers (Helleno-Tamiae), who received the tribute, for so the impost was termed. The amount was originally fixed at 460 talents. The island of Delos was the treasury, and the meetings of the allies were held in the temple" (i. 96). In the terms of the treaty of 422-1 between Athens and Sparta, there is this clause: "The said cities shall be independent, but shall pay the tribute which was fixed in the time of Aristides" (v. 18, 5).

Ephorus (*Diodorus*, xi. 47, 2) ascribes the plan and its accomplishment to Aristides alone; otherwise he reproduces the testimony of Thucydides in rhetorical form. Aristotle, in the *Constitution of Athens*, xxiii. 5, following an oligarchical and anti-democratic source, says: "Aristides was the one who induced the revolt of the Ionians from the Lacedæmonian alliance, observing that the Spartans were in disrepute because of Pausanias. And so he too was the one who imposed the first tributes on the cities, in the third year after the sea-fight at Salamis, in the archonship of Timostratus (478-7), and he took the oaths with the Ionians to an offensive and defensive alliance, for the ratification of which they plunged the iron ingots in the sea." The testimony of Nepos also is thoroughly Thucydidean except for the prominence given to Aristides, in which he undoubtedly is following Ephorus: "Quos (barbaros) quo facilius repellerent, si

forte bellum renovare conarentur, ad classis ædificandas exercitusque comparandos quantum pecuniæ quæque civitas daret, Aristides delectus est, qui constitueret, eiusque arbitrio quadringena et sexagena talenta quotannis Delum sunt collata." If Nepos is using Ephorus here, he corrects him, for Ephorus gives 560 talents as the amount of tribute at first collected. It is possible, however, that Diodorus has not correctly reported Ephorus for us.

XXIV. 2. **All her property in his sole hands:** delightful exaggeration of rhetoric. Originally many allies furnished ships and not money.

The age of Cronus: Plutarch borrows this extravagant hyperbole from his own *Cimon*, c. x., where, speaking of the open-handed hospitality of Cimon, he says: "He made his home a general public office for his fellow-citizens, and allowed even the stranger to take and use the choicest of the ripened fruits on his estates, with all the fair things which the seasons bring, and so, in a certain fashion, he restored to human life the fabled communism of the age of Cronus."

The men of old: poets, like Hesiod, who sings the praises of the golden age of Cronus in his *Works and Days*, 109-126.

XXIV. 3. **Thucydides says, etc.:** at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war (431 b. c.), "while the Peloponnesians were gathering at the Isthmus, and were still on their way, but before they entered Attica, Pericles . . . repeated his previous advice; they must prepare for war. . . . The state of their finances was encouraging: they had on an average six hundred talents coming in annually from their allies, to say nothing of their other revenue" (ii. 13, 3). The talent may be reckoned at about £235, or \$1150, but the purchasing power of money was several times greater then than it is now.

It is probable that the sum of 460 talents was regarded as a normal sum, but that under special stress of war, even as early as 454 b. c. the tribute exacted might rise much higher, and then be reduced again to the normal level. The *average*

amount between 478 and 426 B. C. was probably not far from 600 talents, the amount given by Thucydides. The orator Andocides, in his speech "On the Peace with Sparta" (the "Peace of Nicias," 422-1 B. C., see the note on *Them.* xix. 1), speaks of the annual tribute as amounting to more than 1200 talents (§ 9), and this sum might easily round out into Plutarch's 1300. The vexed subject of the Athenian tribute is ably discussed in Holm, *History of Greece*, ii. pp. 222 ff. and Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, iii., pp. 79-82.

XXIV. 4. The source of these anecdotes is not surely known. They are clearly of late and inferential manufacture. It is, however, not unlikely that they come from the same source as those of iv. 2 and 3, namely, Idomeneus, who is there mentioned by name as authority.

XXV. 1. **Bind the Hellenes by an oath**: the earliest authority for this is Aristotle, as cited in the note on xxiv. 1.

Casting iron ingots . . . into the sea: the significance of the ceremony is plain from a passage of Herodotus (i. 165): "After this they" (the Phocæans abandoning their city) "laid the heaviest curses on the man who should draw back and forsake the armament; and having dropped a heavy mass of iron into the sea, swore never to return to Phocæa till that mass reappeared upon the surface."

From the very altars: to add solemnity to the oath, as the ballots were taken from the altar of Poseidon in the proceedings described in *c.* xvii. of the *Themistocles*.

Lay the perjury to his charge: malicious tradition delighted to invent specimens of the unrighteousness of Aristides, since the dominant note in the legitimate tradition about him was righteousness. Benevolent tradition also invented many illustrations of his righteousness, till that quality in his character became almost exclusive of others. In the same way, a certain unscrupulous shrewdness having become the dominant note in the tradition about Themistocles, malicious and benevolent tradition alike invented illustrations of his masterful cunning. But there are distinct traces also of traditions illustrating his probity and

incorruptibility. See the *Themistocles*, v. 4. Aristotle (cited in the note on xxiv. 1) makes Aristides plan the Athenian Confederacy simply in order that 20,000 Athenians may live at the cost of their allies!

XXV. 2. **Theophrastus**: see the Introduction, p. 41.

Removing the moneys from Delos to Athens: the Athenian "tribute-lists" show that this removal was made in the year 454-3 B.C., after Aristides had been dead several years at least. The concurrence of Aristides in the injustice, according to Theophrastus, shows that this disciple of Aristotle took the same view as his master of the corrupting influence of Aristides upon the Athenian democracy (see the preceding note). The Athenians could give a plausible reason for the removal in the fact that the Persians, after their great successes in Egypt (460-455 B.C.), threatened the security of Delos. But the predominating motive, of course, was the growth of the imperial idea. See Plutarch's *Pericles*, xii.

At the instance of the Samians: a plausible touch to the story, for the Samians were the most powerful of the allies.

XXV. 3. **Abode by his poverty**: making all due allowances for the distortions of historical tradition, it still seems well established that Themistocles finished his political career a rich man, and Aristides a comparatively poor man. It does not necessarily follow from this, however, that Themistocles was a peculator, nor Aristides a perfectly and consistently righteous man, nor even that he was buried and his daughters married at the public cost. In the *Comparison between Aristides and Cato*, iii., Plutarch urges that while Cato was simply plain and frugal, Aristides was so poor as to make even his justice odious.

Callias the Torchbearer: see the note on v. 4.

XXV. 6. **Æschines the Socratic**: see the Introduction, p. 57.

Plato maintains: see the citation from the *Gorgias*, p. 526 A, in the note on vi. 1; and from the same dialogue, p. 518 E, in the note on the *Themistocles*, iv. *fin.* Plutarch

gives a rather free version of Plato's sentiments. In the *Gorgias*, p. 517 A, the position is taken by Socrates that the Athenian state has had *no* good statesman, because they were all "thrown from their chariots" by ostracism. In the *Meno*, p. 93, Plato's Socrates holds that Themistocles was a wise and good man, but unable to teach his virtue even to his own son, *exactly like* Aristides, Pericles, and Thucydides the son of Melesias.

XXV. 7. **This man his foe, etc.**: . . . see the *Themistocles*, iii. 1, 2; v. 5, with the notes.

Came to the same pass: *i. e.* was ostracized; see the *Themistocles*, xxii. 2, with the notes.

Under accusation of treason: see the *Themistocles*, xxiii., and notes.

XXVI. 1. **Pontus**: by the time of Xenophon this name had come to designate a territory in northeastern Asia Minor along the shore of the Pontus Euxinus. In the time of Aristides it could not have had this restricted meaning.

Others at Athens: the tradition of death abroad while in the public service is too definite and natural to be an invention; and burial at home would easily give rise to the later tradition of death at home.

Craterus the Macedonian: see the Introduction, p. 40.

XXVI. 2. **Convicted of bribery**: compare the story from Idomeneus in iv. 2, 3, and see the note on xxv. 1. To have Aristides convicted of injustice at all is an extravagant trait of malicious tradition, but to have him guilty of injustice in the very proceeding from which he won his fame for justice is clearly a mere *tour de force*. Plutarch disposes of the testimony with more than his usual acumen.

Regulating the tributes: see *c.* xxiv.

Fifty minæ: the *mina* was a lump sum of one hundred (100) drachmas, or the equivalent in monetary value of £4, or \$20. See the note on "seventy *minæ*," *i. 5*. It is purposely made a ridiculously small sum (Miltiades was fined fifty talents, sixty times as much) to harmonize with the later conception of the poverty of Aristides.

Adduce his authorities: other than public documents; historians for instance, or the dramatic writers.

XXVI. 3. The exile of Themistocles: not the ostracism. See the *Themistocles*, *cc. xxiii., xxiv.*

The imprisonment of Miltiades: after his unfortunate expedition against Paros (*Herod.*, vi. 132–136). But Herodotus says nothing of any imprisonment. Miltiades was tried for his life, “on the charge of having dealt deceitfully with the Athenians. . . . The judgment of the people was in his favor so far as to spare his life, but for the wrong he had done them they fined him fifty talents. Soon afterwards his thigh completely gangrened and mortified; and so Miltiades died, and the fifty talents were paid by his son Cimon” (*c. 136*). The anecdote-mongers are careless of legal procedure. Athenian law did not imprison a man under sentence to pay a fine. The perversion can be traced back as far as Ephorus (*Diodorus*, x., Frag. 29), who makes Miltiades die in custody, and has it necessary for his son Cimon, in order to obtain the body of his father for burial, to surrender himself into custody and assume the fine which his father was unable to pay.

The fine of Pericles: alluded to also in the *Nicias*, *c. vi.* After the second invasion of the Peloponnesians and the ravages of the plague at Athens, the Athenians blamed Pericles as the author of all their troubles. He defended himself against their unjust displeasure in the manner described by Thucydides in *ii. 60–64*. But “the popular indignation was not pacified until they had fined Pericles; soon afterwards, however, with the usual fickleness of the multitude, they elected him general and committed all their affairs to his charge” (*c. 65, 3, 4*). The proceeding was probably a technical one to express lack of confidence in the leadership of Pericles, and did not imply any malversation in office. Diodorus (Ephorus) puts the fine at eighty (80) talents (*xii. 45, 4*); Plutarch (*Pericles*, *xxxv. 4*) finds authority for sums ranging from fifteen to fifty talents.

The death of Paches: Paches was the conqueror of Mity-

lene in 427. Thucydides describes his expedition at great length (iii. 18-50), but says nothing of his death. Nor does Diodorus (Ephorus), though his account of the subjection of Lesbos is somewhat detailed (xii. 55). Plutarch thus speaks of his death in the *Nicias* (vi. 2): "as was manifest in the fate of Paches the capturer of Lesbos, who, while he was giving the official account of his generalship, drew his sword in the very court-room and slew himself." The context implies that the attitude of the people drove Paches to the fatal step. An epigram of Agathias (*floruit circa* 575 A. D.), preserved in the Palatine Anthology (vii. 614), makes his death due to the testimony before the Athenian people of two beautiful women of Mitylene, Lamaxis and Hellanis, to the effect that Paches had murdered their husbands in order to get them into his possession for base uses.

The ostracism of Aristides: see *c. vii.*

XXVII. 1. Moreover: continuing the argument against Craterus' story.

At Phalerum: the deme, not the harbor of the same name. See *i. 1.* Demetrius of Phalerum there claims that the estate in which the tomb lay was the property of Aristides. The family of Aristides evidently became impoverished, and tradition reasoned from this that Aristides also was of notable poverty. This poverty was made to enhance the exaggerated estimate put upon his "justice." But the poverty became so firmly fixed in tradition that Demosthenes, *Against Aristocrates* (xxv.), § 209, can speak rhetorically of Aristides as not richer by a single drachma after his adjustment of the tributes, and as buried at the expense of the city. See the notes on *i. 3* and *5*; *Themistocles*, xxv. 3.

They say: the current tradition, including such rhetorical allusions as that of Demosthenes just cited.

His daughters married . . . at the public cost: this too was stock rhetorical material, as we see from Æschines' *On the Crown*, § 258, where the same contrast between the opportunity of Aristides to enrich himself and his actual

poverty is made which Demosthenes makes. If there was no male relative with legal authority over a maid, *i. e.* no father, or brother, or paternal grandfather, then the state, through the Archon *Basileus*, assumed such legal authority, and “adjudged” her to the nearest male relative who claimed to marry her. “If, owing to her poverty, there was nothing to induce her relatives to claim her, then the nearest relative was compelled by law either to dower her (in which case he probably became legally qualified to betroth her), or to marry her himself (in which case a formal betrothal was presumably unnecessary).” See Gardner and Jevons, *Greek Antiquities*, p. 554. It is difficult to suppose that there was no male relative of the daughters of Aristides on whom the state could call.

From the prytaneium : *i. e.* from the city hall, instead of the father’s house, or the house of her legal representative. The state reared the children of men slain in her defence (*Thucyd.*, ii. 46), but there is no evidence for such a romantic system of pensioning as this.

The dowry for the marriage : “If a man had daughters as well as sons, the daughters were morally, but not legally, entitled to a dowry — from their father, if they were married during his lifetime; from their brothers otherwise.” Gardner and Jevons, *ibid.*, p. 543.

Three thousand drachmas : half a talent, or about \$600 (£118), a very modest dowry, as dowries went. A wife without a dowry had inferior rights and privileges.

Lysimachus his son : named, as the custom was, after his grandfather.

One hundred minæ : about £400, or \$2,000.

As many acres of land : in Eubœa, as we learn from Demosthenes, *Against Leptines* (xx.), § 115: “To Lysimachus, an excellent man of olden time, they gave a hundred acres of vineyard land in Eubœa, a hundred acres of grain land, and further one hundred *minæ*, and four drachmas per diem. These things are recorded in a decree of Alcibiades.”

XXVII. 2. **According to Callisthenes**: see the Introduction, p. 58.

A public maintenance: "Like the family and the phratria, so the city too had a common hearth and a common table. Both were in the prytaneum. There daily dined certain persons selected to represent the city—magistrates or distinguished men. At Athens those who won a victory at the Olympic games had the right thereafter to a public maintenance in the prytaneum" (Gardner and Jevons, *Greek Antiquities*, p. 198). Callisthenes can hardly have claimed for Polycrité a public maintenance *with* the Olympic victors, in the Prytaneum, but one at public cost, like theirs.

Demetrius . . . Panætius: these are the two writers whom Plutarch has actually consulted; he finds in them, or perhaps only in Panætius, the other three authorities whom he here names duly cited. See the Introduction, pp. 57 f.

On Nobility of Birth: this writing has not been preserved, and is not classed as a genuine work by modern scholars.

Another woman: Xanthippe, of course, who would certainly have made it uncomfortable for Myrto, even taking the mildest estimate of her character. Neither Plato nor Xenophon, the disciples of Socrates, know anything of any wife of his other than Xanthippe. Diogenes Laertius (second or third century A. D.), in his work on the lives of the philosophers, has the following (ii. 5, 10): "Aristotle says that Socrates had two wives: first, Xanthippe, by whom he had Lamprocles; and second, Myrto, the daughter of Aristides the Just, whom he took without a dowry, and by whom he had Sophroniscus and Menexenus. Some say he married Myrto first, and some that he had both at the same time. So Satyrus, and Hieronymus the Rhodian. These say that the Athenians, desiring to increase the number of citizens, which had become small, voted that a man might marry one wife from among the citizens, and beget children by another; and therefore Socrates did so." But the testimony is too late and contradictory to have any weight, nor do we hear elsewhere of any such vote at Athens to repair the ravages of the war.

XXVII. 3. **A grandson**: literally, *a daughter's son*, but this is clearly a chronological impossibility. Aristides died about 468 B. C., and Demetrius was regent for Cassander at Athens 317–307 B. C. The word translated *grandson* may have had, as Demetrius used it, the more general meaning of *descendant on the daughter's side*. But Plutarch has evidently changed the testimony of Demetrius, whatever it was, so as to make it apply to the two daughters of Aristides whom the state married off (§ 1).

Dream-interpreting tablet: Lysimachus was a professional interpreter of dreams. The fees of these experts were forlornly small, judging from a passage in Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 52 f., where two drowsy slaves are telling one another their portentous dreams, and one says:

“Shall I not pay two obols then, and hire
One who so cleverly interprets dreams?” (Rogers.)

The so-called Iaccheium: such a temple of Iacchus (Dionysus, Bacchus) is conjectured in what Pausanias (i. 2, 4), entering Athens by the great Dipylum gate on the north-west, calls a temple of Demeter. “Hard by is a temple of Demeter with images of the goddess, her daughter, and Iacchus, who is holding a torch.” So Mr. Frazer, in his note *ad loc.*, and he adds: “The place was indeed a favorite resort of dream-interpreters, who sat here with their boards in front of them and charged two drachms for a consultation. These fellows would naturally choose some frequented thoroughfare in which to ply their trade, and there was probably no busier street in Athens than the one which led from the Dipylum to the market-place.” The fee of “two drachms,” however, was an extraordinary fee on a special occasion, to secure a specially difficult interpretation. The recognized charge was two obols. See the passage cited from Aristophanes in the preceding note.

XXVII. 4. **Aristogeiton**: with Harmodius popularly supposed to have slain Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus, and so to have put an end to the tyranny. In reality their deed

only made the tyranny of Hippias, the brother of Hipparchus, all the harsher. See *Herodotus*, v. 55; *Thucydides*, vi. 54-58. Their exploit, unsuccessful as it was, nevertheless passed into popular legend as gloriously successful, and became the theme for patriotic song. Their descendants also were highly honored.

Potamus: a deme of the Leontid tribe.

Lemnos: an Athenian possession, and occupied by Athenian settlers ever since the time of Miltiades. For its conquest, see *Herodotus*, vi. 137-140.

Even in my own day: the biography closes, like the *Themistocles*, with an affectionate allusion to Plutarch's student days at Athens.

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